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THE PRESENT

STATE

OF THE

Ottoman Empire.

Containing the MAXIMS of the

TURKISH POLITIE,

The moſt material Points of the

MAHOMETAN RELIGION,

Their SECTS and HERESIES, their CONVENTS and RELIGIOUS VOTARIES.

THEIR

MILITARY DISCIPLINE,

With an exact Computation of their

FORCES both by LAND and SEA.

Illuſtrated with divers Pieces of Sculpture, repreſenting the variety of Habits amongſt the *Turks*.

IN THREE BOOKS.

By *PAUL RYCAUT* Eſq;

Late Secretary to his Excellency the Earl of *Winchilſea*, (Embaſſador Extraordinary for his Majeſty *Charles* the Second, *&c.* to *Sultan Mahomet Han* the Fourth, Emperour of the *Turks*) now Conſul of *Smyrna*, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,

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MDCLXX.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

Courteous Reader,

I Present thee here with a true Systeme or Model of the Turkish Government and Religion; not in the same manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have set down their Observations as they have obviously occurred in their Journeys; which being collected for the most part from Relations, and Discourses of such who casually intervene in company of Passengers, are consequently subject to many errours and mistakes: But having been an Inhabitant my self at the Imperial City for the space of five years, and assisted by the advantage of considerable Journeys I have made through divers parts of Turky, *and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of* Winchilsea *Lord Embassadour, I had opportunity by the constant access and practice with the Chief Ministers of State, and variety of Negotiations which passed through my hands in the Turkish Court, to penetrate farther into the Mysteries of this Politie, which appear so strange and barbarous to us, than hasty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themselves with a superficial knowledge.*

The Computations I have made of the value of their Offices, of the strength and number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Registers and Records. The Observations I have made of their Politie, are either Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of considerable Ministers, or Conclusions arising from my own Experience and Considerations. The Articles of their Faith and Constitutions of Religion, I have set down as pronounced from the mouth of some of the most learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law, with whom for Money or Presents

I gained a familiarity and appearance of friendſhip. The Relation of the Seraglio, *and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Cuſtom and Rule, were tranſmitted to me by ſeveral ſober Perſons, trained up with the beſt Education of the Turkiſh Learning; and particularly, by an underſtanding* Polonian, *who had ſpent nineteen years in the* Ottoman *Court.*

If (Reader) the ſuperſtition, vanity, and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion ſeem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of a diſtracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Chriſtian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppreſſion, and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reaſon ſtands in no competition with the pride and luſt of an unreaſonable Miniſter, ſeem ſtrange to thy Liberty and Happineſs, thank God that thou art born in a Country the moſt free and juſt in all the World; and a Subject to the moſt indulgent, the moſt gracious of all the Princes of the Univerſe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the fruits of thy labour can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own Freedom, by compariſon with Forreign Servitude, that thou mayſt ever bleſs God and thy King, and make thy Happineſs breed thy Content, without degenerating into wantonneſs, or deſire of revolution. Farewel.

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To the Right Honourable
HENRY Lord *ARLINGTON*,
His Majeſties Principal Secretary of State.

My Lord,

After five years reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, in ſervice of the Embaſſy of the Earl of *Winchilſea* (my ever honoured Lord) and this my ſecond journey from thence by land into my own Country, I judged it a point of my Duty, and of my Religion too, to dedicate this following Treatiſe, as the fruits of my Travels, Negotiations, and leiſure in thoſe remote parts, to the Noble Perſon of your Lordſhip; as that *Votiva Tabula*, which many both in ancient and in the modern times, after ſome ſignal deliverance, or happy arrival at their deſired Port, uſe to offer to their Gods, their Saints, or their Patrons: And truly, my Lord, this Diſcourſe treating chiefly of the Turkiſh Policy, Government, and Maxims of State, ſeems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of your Lordſhip, whoſe faculties of Wiſdom and Vertue have given you the Bleſſing of your Princes Favour, and the Reputation, as well abroad as at home, of an Eminent and Dexterous Miniſter of State.

It were a great Preſumption in me to offer any Obſervations of my own in the Courts of Chriſtian Princes to the teſt of your Lordſhips Experience and Judgment, who not only is acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Manners, but penetrates into the Deſigns, and knows the Cabinet Councels of Neighbouring Principalities, with whom our divided world may poſſibly be concerned; but perhaps without diſparagement to your Lordſhips profound Wiſdom, or over-value of my own abilities, I may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordſhip, of the Turkiſh Government, Policies, and Cuſtoms; a Subject which Travellers have rather repreſented to their Countrymen, to ſupply them with diſcourſe and admiration, than as a matter worthy the conſideration, or concernment of our Kings or our Governours.

It hath been the happy fortune of the Turk to be accounted barbarous and ignorant; for upon this perſwaſion Chriſtian Princes have laid themſelves open and unguarded to their greateſt danger; contending together for one Palm of land, whilſt this puiſſant Enemy hath made himſelf maſter of whole Provinces, and largely ſhared in the rich and pleaſant poſſeſſions of *Europe*.

This contempt of the Turk on one ſide, cauſed the Emperour to be ſo backward in oppoſing that torrent of the *Ottoman* Force, which in the firſt year of the late War broke in upon him; and the ſuſpition of deſigns from *France* on the other, altered the Reſolutions and Councels of the Emperour for proſecution of the War, which then running favourably on the Chriſtian part, was no leſs than with the aſtoniſhment of the whole world, and of the Turks themſelves, on a ſudden underſtood to be clapt up with Articles of a diſadvantageous Peace; admiring to ſee the Emperour give a ſtop to the current of his Victories, and relinquiſh the Game with a lucky hand. But this will ſeem no riddle to thoſe who penetrate Affairs with the ſame judgment that your Lordſhip doth, and conſider the unfirm condition the Houſe of *Auſtria* was in, by a daily expectation of the death or fall of ſo main a Baſis of it, as the King of *Spain*, and the diviſion amongſt the Princes of the Empire, the League of the *Rhine*, the French practices to make the Duke of *Enguyen* King of *Poland*, and the extravagant demands of the French and Rhiniſh League for Winter quarters, and places of ſtrength, not only in *Hungary*, but alſo in *Styria* and the adjacent places; and at the ſame time look on the Factions in *Hungary*, and a conſiderable Army of French in the bowels of *Germany*, who were ſuppoſed in thoſe parts to have rather come with deſign to over-awe the next Diet, and force the German Princes to elect the French King for King of the Romans, than with ſincere and ſimple intentions of oppoſing themſelves to the Enemy of the Faith: for then it will appear, that the beſt uſe the Emperour could make of his good ſucceſs, was moderation in Victory, and reconciliation with his powerful Enemy. And hereupon Earl *Leiſle* being diſpatched for Extraordinary Embaſſadour from his Imperial Majeſty, to the Grand Signior; though the *Turk* was elevated with the thoughts of the neceſſity the Chriſtians had of a Peace, did

yet

yet ſo happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the Turks an extraordinary reverence towards his Perſon, and obtained ſuch Honours and Treatments from them, as the Turkiſh Court never beſtowed before on the Emperours, or any other Chriſtian Embaſſadour; extorting this Complement from the great Vizier, That he was more ſatisfied the Emperour had ſent ſo brave and illuſtrious a perſon, than if he had ſought to reconcile his Affections with a hundred thouſand Dollars more of Preſent. And to do juſtice to this worthy Perſon, he hath brought a reputation to the Britiſh Nation, above any in our age, whoſe vertues and induſtry have acquired the higheſt Truſts and Preferments in Forreign Parts; and done the ſame honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the preſent Emperour and his Anceſtors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithful Miniſter: having deſerved ſo eminently for ſaving the whole German Empire from the Treaſon of *Walleſtein*, by his own ſingle act of bravery (a ſtory notoriouſly known to all the world) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and place in the Hiſtory of that Country.

The ſpeculation of what is contained in this following Diſcourſe may ſeem unworthy of your Lordſhips precious hours, in regard of that notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is ſtiled; yet the knowledge hereof will be like a *Turquoiſe*, or ſome other Jewel ſet within the Roſe of thoſe many Gems of your Lordſhips Wiſdom and Vertues.

This Preſent, which I thus humbly conſecrate to your Lordſhip, may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differenced from us by diverſity of Manners and Cuſtom, and are not dreſſed in the mode and faſhion of our times and Countries; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want of familiarity. But your Lordſhip, who exactly ponderates the weight of humane Actions, acknowledges reaſon in all its habits, and draws not the meaſures of Oeconomy or Policy from external appearances or effects, but from the fundamental and original Conſtitutions; ſo that your Lordſhip will conclude, that a People, as the Turks are, men of the ſame compoſition with us, cannot be ſo ſavage and rude as they are generally deſcribed; for ignorance and groſſneſs is the effect of Poverty, not incident to

happy

happy men, whoſe ſpirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of ſo many Nations.

Knowing (My Lord) that this work which I have undertaken is liable to common cenſure, I have choſen to ſhrowd my name under the patronage of your Lordſhip, to protect me from the ill-underſtanding and miſ-conceptions of our Countrymen, both at home and abroad: againſt which I doubt not but to be ſufficiently armed in all parts where I travel, when the countenance your Lordſhip affords me, is joined to the authority of his Excellency the Earl of *Winchilſea*, his Majeſties Embaſſadour Extraordinary, now actually reſident at *Conſtantinople*, my ever honoured Lord; to whom I read, a long time before publiſh'd to the World, the greateſt part of this following Treatiſe; and as I received his favourable approbation, and aſſent to the verity of moſt matters herein contained; ſo I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs to have been beholding to that quick and refined Genius of his, who often rectified my miſtakes, ſupplyed me with matter, and remembred me of many material points, which I might otherwiſe have moſt unadviſedly omitted: And his Excellency knowing that in his abſence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my ſelf to ſeek out one, who might concur with him in the ſame innocent defence. And as (My Lord) you are a publick perſon, and under our Gracious Sovereign, are one of thoſe generous ſpirits which have eſpouſed the common intereſt of the Nation; ſo I preſume on this preſent occaſion not to want your protection alſo in a ſingle capacity: for which exceſs of favours I ſhall ever pray for the exaltation of the greater glory of your Lordſhip, and for ever acknowledge my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt humble, moſt

faithful, and moſt devoted Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperour
of the Turks aged 26 yeares Anno 1669

THE MAXIMES OF THE Turkiſh Politie.

CHAP. I.

The Conſtitution of the Turkiſh Government *being different from moſt others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims, and Rules, whereon to eſtabliſh and confirm it ſelf.*

I Have begun a Work which ſeems very full of difficulty and labour; for to trace the footſteps of *Government* in the beſt formed and moulded *Common-wealths* (ſuch as are ſupported with *Reaſon* and with *Religion*) is no leſs then to unriddle and reſolve a Myſtery. For as a Common-wealth, by many Authors, hath not been unaptly compared to a Ship, in divers reſpects, and proper Allegories; ſo principally the ſmall impreſſion or ſign of track, the floating habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the traverſes it makes, according to the different winds to attain its Port, is a lively embleme of the various motions of good Government, which by reaſon of circumſtances, times, and multiplicity of chances and events, leaves little or no path in all the Ocean of humane affairs.

O navis referent in mare te novi fluctus. Horat. 14. Ode Lib. 1.

But there muſt be yet certain Rules in every Government, which are the foundations and pillars of it; not ſubject to the alteration of time, or any other accident; and ſo eſſential to it, that they admit of no change, until the whole model of Politie ſuffer a Convulſion, and

be ſhaken into ſome other form; which is either effected by the new laws of a Conquerour, or by inteſtine and civil revolutions. Of ſuch Maxims as theſe, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the *Ottoman Court*) I have made a collection, ſubjoining to every head ſome reflections and conſiderations of my own, which at my leiſure hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak judgment and ability) to the meaſure and teſt of Reaſon and Virtue; as alſo to a ſimilitude, and congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largeſt extent of Dominion.

But indeed when I have conſidered ſeriouſly the contexture of the *Turkiſh* Government, the abſoluteneſs of an Emperour without reaſon, without virtue, whoſe ſpeeches may be irrational, and yet muſt be laws; whoſe actions irregular, and yet examples; whoſe ſentence and judgment, if in matters of the Imperial concernment, are moſt commonly corrupt, and yet decrees irreſiſtible: When I conſider what little rewards there are for vertue, and no puniſhment for profitable and thriving vice; how men are raiſed at once by adulation, chance, and the ſole favour of the Prince, without any title of noble blood, or the motives of previous deſerts, or former teſtimonies and experience of parts or abilities, to the weightieſt, the richeſt, and moſt honourable charges of the Empire; when I conſider how ſhort their continuance is in them, how with one frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greedineſs above all people in the world, they thirſt and haſte to be rich, and yet know their treaſure is but their ſnare; what they labour for is but as ſlaves for their great Patron and Maſter, and what will inevitably effect their ruine and deſtruction, though they have all the arguments of faithfulneſs, virtue, and moral honeſty (which are rare in a *Turk*) to be their advocates, and plead for them. When I conſider many other things of like nature, (which may more at large hereafter be diſcourſed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vaſt Empire, and attribute the ſtability thereof without change within its ſelf, and the increaſe of Dominions and conſtant progreſs of its arms, rather to ſome ſuper-natural cauſe, then to the ordinary Maxims of State, or wiſdom of the Governours, as if the Divine will of the all-knowing Creator, had choſen for the good of his Church, and chaſtiſement of the ſins and vices of Chriſtians, to raiſe and ſupport this potent people. *Mihi quanto plura recentium ſeu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obſervantur.*

Tacit. l. 3. An.

But that which cements all breaches, and cures all thoſe wounds in this body politick, is the quickneſs and ſeverity of their juſtice, which not conſidering much the ſtrict diviſion and parts of *diſtributive* and *commutative*, makes almoſt every crime equal, and puniſhes it with the laſt and extreameſt chaſtiſement, which is death; I mean thoſe which have relation to the Government, and are of common and publick intereſt. Without this remedy, which I lay down as a principal prevention of the greateſt diſorders, this mighty body would burſt with the poyſon of its own ill humours, and ſoon divide it ſelf into ſeveral Signories, as the ambition and power of the Governours moſt remote from the Imperial Seat adminiſtred them hopes and ſecurity of becoming abſolute.

In

In this Government, ſeverity, violence, and cruelty are natural to it; and it were as great an errour to begin to looſe the reins, and eaſe the people of that oppreſſion to which they and their forefathers have ſince their firſt original been accuſtomed, as it would be in a nation free-born, and uſed to live under the protection of good laws, and the clemency of a virtuous and Chriſtian Prince, to exerciſe a Tyrannical power over their eſtates and lives, and change their liberty into ſervitude and ſlavery. The *Turks* had the original of their Civil Government founded in the time of War: for when they firſt came out of *Scythia*, and took Arms in their hands, and ſubmitted unto one General, it is to be ſuppoſed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and moſt agreeable to the enterpriſe and deſign they had then in hand, when *Tangrolipix* overthrew the *Perſian Sultan*; poſſeſſed himſelf of his Dominions and Power, and called and opened the way for his companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cutlumuſes* revolted from him, and made a diſtinct Kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Seleuccian* Family in the infancy of the Turkiſh power had by Wars among themſelves, or by Teſtament made diviſion of their poſſeſſions; when (*Anno* 1300) *Ottoman*, by ſtrange fortunes, and from ſmall beginnings ſwallowed up all the other Governments into the *Oguſian* Tribe, and united them under one head, until at laſt it arrived to that greatneſs and power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this people was but a continued ſtate of War; wherefore it is not ſtrange, if their laws are ſevere, and in moſt things arbitrary; that the Emperour ſhould be abſolute and above law, and that moſt of their Cuſtoms ſhould run in a certain Channel and courſe moſt anſwerable to the height and unlimited power of the Governour, and conſequently to the oppreſſion and ſubjection of the people: and that they ſhould thrive moſt by ſervitude, be moſt happy, proſperous and contented under Tyranny, is as natural to them, as to a body to be nouriſhed with that diet, which it had from its infancy or birth been acquainted with. But not only is Tyranny requiſite for this people, and a ſtiff rein to curb them, leſt by an unknown liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewiſe the large territories and remote parts of the Empire require ſpeedy preventions, without proceſſes of law, or formal indictment: jealouſie and ſuſpition of miſ-government being licenſe and authority enough for the Emperour to inflict his ſevereſt puniſhments: all which depends upon the abſoluteneſs of the Prince; which becauſe it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally ſupported in their greatneſs, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we ſhall make it the diſcourſe and ſubject of the following Chapter.

Ma Experati che gli hanno, e che cominciano ad eſſere in veneratione, &c. Machi. c. 6. *del Prencipe.*

Chap. II.

The abſoluteneſs of the Emperour is a great ſupport of the Turkiſh *Empire.*

Sulton Mahomet Han the present Emperour of the Turkes aged 23 yeares Anno 1666

THe *Turks* having (as is before declared) laid the firſt foundation of their Government with the principles moſt agreeable to Military Diſcipline, their Generals or Princes, whoſe will and luſts they ſerved, became abſolute Maſters of their Lives and Eſtates; ſo that what they gained and acquired by the Sword with labours, perils, and ſufferings, was appropriated to the uſe and benefit of their Great Maſter. All the delightful fields of *Aſia*, the pleaſant plains of *Tempe* and *Thrace*, all the plenty of *Ægypt* and fruitfulneſs of the *Nile*, the luxury of *Corinth*, the ſubſtance of *Peleponeſus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio*, and *Mitylen*, with other Iſles of the *Ægean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the riches of a great part of *Perſia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cæloſiria* and *Phœnicia*, *Colchis*, and a great part of *Georgia*, the tributary principalities of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and the beſt part of *Hungary*, concur all together to ſatisfie the appetite of one ſingle perſon; all the extent of this vaſt territory, the Lands and Houſes, as well as the Caſtles and Arms, are the proper goods of the

The largeneſs of the Turkiſh Empire.

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Grand Signior, in his ſole diſpoſal and gift they remain, whoſe poſſeſſion and right they are; only to lands dedicated to religious uſes, the Grand Signior diſclaims all right or claim; and this he ſo piouſly obſerves (to the ſhame of our Sectaries in *England*, who violate the *penetralia* of the Sanctuary) that when a Baſhaw, though afterwards convicted of Treaſon, beſtows any lands or rents on any certain Moſch or Temple, that grant or gift is good and exempted from any diſpoſal or power of the Grand Signior. The lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conqueſts were made, and the Country ſecured, and in condition to be diſtributed, diviſions were made of the Houſes, Mannors, and Farms among the Souldiery, whom they call *Timars*, as the reward and recompence of their valour and labour; in conſideration of which, every one proportionably to his revenue and poſſeſſion, is obliged to maintain Horſe and Men to be always ready when the Grand Signior ſhall call him forth to ſerve him in the Wars; by which means the whole Country being in the hand of the Souldiery, all places are the better ſtrengthned, and the conquered people more eaſily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; not much unlike our tenure of Knights-ſervice in *England*, and lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the title of a fixed and ſetled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treaſon and Rebellion; they enjoy them alſo by inheritance derived from the Father to the Son, but yet as uſufructuary during the pleaſure of the Emperour, in whom the propriety is always reſerved, and who doth often as his humour and fancy leads him to pleaſe and gratifie a ſtranger, diſpoſſeſs an ancient Poſſeſſor, whoſe family hath for many generations enjoyed that inheritance. Sometimes I have heard with the ſighs of ſome, and the curſe of others, how the Grand Signior heated in his Hunting, and pleaſed with the refreſhment of a little cool and chryſtal water, preſented him by a poor Paiſant; hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the rent of his Landlord, and by his ſole word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he manured, with as ſound a title, as our long deeds and conveyances ſecure our purchaſes and inheritances in *England*; and this the former Maſter dares not name injuſtice, becauſe this Tenant is now made proprietor by the will of the Grand Signior, which was the ſame title and claim with his; preſcription, tenant-right, and cuſtom availing nothing in this caſe. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to Son; the more is the goodneſs and bounty of the Emperour to be acknowledged, that hath permitted ſo long a ſucceſſion of his favours to run in one family, in whoſe power it was to tranſfer it to others.

The abſolute and unlimited power of this Prince is more evident by the titles they give him, as *God on Earth, the ſhadow of God, Brother to the Sun and Moon, the giver of all Earthly Crowns, &c.* And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperours, when that people degenerated into a faſhion of deformed adulation, wherein *Italy* is at preſent corrupted; yet the conception they have of his power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of divine illumination, is a kind of imagery, and idolatrous fancy they frame of his divinity. It is an ordinary ſaying among the *Turkiſh Cadees* and

Lawyers;

Lawyers, That *the Grand Signior is above the Law*; that is, whatſoever law is written, is controulable, and may be contradicted by him: his mouth is the law it ſelf, and the power of an infallible interpretation is in him; and though the *Mufti* is many times, for Cuſtom, Formality and ſatisfaction of the people conſulted with, yet when his ſentences have not been agreeable to the deſigns intended, I have known him in an inſtant thrown from his office to make room for another Oracle better prepared for the purpoſe of his Maſter. Some maintain that the very Oaths and promiſes of the Grand Signior are always revocable, when the performance of his vow is a reſtriction to the abſolute power of the Empire. And I remember when my Lord Embaſſadour hath ſometimes complained of the breach of our Capitulations, and pleaded that the Grand Signior had no power by ſimple commands to infringe articles of peace, to which he had obliged himſelf by ſolemn oaths and vows; the Interpreters have very gently touched that point, and been as nice to queſtion how far the power of the Grand Signior extended, as we ought to be in the ſubtile points of the divine Omnipotence, but rather in contemplation of the Grand Signiors juſtice, wiſdom, faith, and clemency, inſinuated arguments of honour, convenience, and juſtice in maintaining the league inviolate with the King of *England*. It was *Juſtinians* rule concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Etſi legibus ſolutiſumus, tamen legibus vivimus*. That is, although the Majeſty of Princes, and the neceſſity of having a ſupream head in all governments, did free and priviledge them from all puniſhment, and exempt them from the cenſure and correction of law, that no earthly power could call them to account for their errours or diſorders in this world; yet it is neceſſary to the Being of an abſolute Monarch, to be a ſevere executioner of the Laws of his Country, and it is more his intereſt and ſecurity, then to act without rule, and always to make uſe of the power of abſolute dominion, which is to be applied like Phyſick, when the ordinary force of nature cannot remove the malignancy of ſome peccant humours. The Grand Signior himſelf is alſo reſtrained by laws, but without impeachment to his abſolute juriſdiction. For when there is a new Emperour, it is the cuſtom to conduct him with great pomp and triumph to a place in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* called *Job*, where is an ancient Monument of ſome certain Prophet, or Holy man, whom the *Turks* for want of knowledge in Antiquity and Hiſtory, ſtile that *Job*, who was recorded for the mirrour of conſtancy and patience. For they confound all Hiſtory in Chronology, ſaying that *Job* was *Solomons* Judge of the Court, and *Alexander* the Great, Captain of his Army. At this place Solemn Prayers are made, that God would proſper and infuſe wiſdom into him, who is to manage ſo great a charge. Then the *Mufti* embracing him, beſtows his benediction, and the Grand Signior ſwears and promiſes ſolemnly to maintain the Muſleman Faith, and laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*; and then the Viſiers of the Bench, and other Baſhaws, with profound reverence and humility, kiſſing the ground firſt, and then the hemme of his veſt, acknowledge him their lawful and undoubted Emperour: and after this form of inauguration, he returns with the like ſolemnity and magnificence to the *Seraglio*, (which is always the ſeat of the *Ottoman* Emperours.) And thus

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the Gr. Sig. retains, and obliges himſelf to govern within the compaſs of Laws, but they give him ſo large a latitude, that he can no more be ſaid to be bound or limited, than a man who hath the world to rove in can be termed a Priſoner, becauſe he cannot exceed the Incloſure of the Univerſe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan* Law, yet that Law calls the Emperour the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the moſt ſetled and fixed Rules, at leaſt to wave and diſpenſe with them when they are an obſtacle to his Government, and contradict (as we ſaid before) any great deſign of the Empire. But the learned Doctors among the *Turks* more clearly reſtrain the Imperial power only to the obſervation of that which is Religious in the *Mahometan* Law, ſaying, That in matters which are Civil his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judge or Legiſlator than his own will. Hence it is that they ſay, the Grand Signior can never be depoſed or made accountable to any for his crimes, whilſt he deſtroys cauſeleſly of his Subjects under the number of 1000 a day; and in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan* Law determines the teſtimony of two Witneſſes of that Faith to be valid for the determination of all caſes of difference; yet by our Capitulations it is provided, that no *Turkiſh* Witneſſes of what number or quality ſoever can avail againſt any of the *Engliſh* Nation, by reaſon that the caſe being Civil is diſpenſable by the Imperial power; but I doubt, were any matter in queſtion Criminal, (as we have never, God be praiſed, had occaſion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan* Law, as being Religious and Divine, with which the Sultan hath no power to diſpenſe. Of what conſequence and benefit this abſolute power hath been to the *Turks*, is evident by the extent of their Empire and ſucceſs of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleaſes the Souldiery, no matter how the people in this conſtitution is contented; and this was the concluſion of *Machiavil* upon this Government, in the 19. Chapter of his Book *del Prencipe*. And it muſt needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Utile* and *Juſtum* are reconciled and made the ſame, and that he meets no contradiction or oppoſition at home, which may retard or croſs the great deſigns abroad. The Emperour of *Germany* had doubtleſs ſooner encountred the *Turks*, and given a ſtop to his free entrance the firſt year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been abſolute of the whole Empire, and not neceſſitated to expect the conſent of his ſeveral Princes, and the reſult of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter *Germany*. For when many heads or hands are required, all buſineſs moves ſlowly, and more time is ſpent in agreement of the manner of action, in arguments and debates, (which are moſt commonly carried on by faction) than in the moſt difficult point of execution. It would ſeem a great clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the bounty of his Subjects when he would make a War, or on the judgment of a Lawyer that ſhould contradict and cenſure the actions of his Prince as irregular, and exceeding the priviledges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to underſtand how it is poſſible with theſe Fetters for any Country or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Miſtreſs of a great Empire, or a Prince be ſaid to have a long arm, or embrace a large compaſs of the Globe, who is pinioned

with

with the bands of his own Laws. But I confeſs it is a bleſſing and wonderful happineſs of a people, to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath preſcribed his power within the compaſs of wholeſom Laws, acknowledg'd a right of poſſeſſion and propriety of Eſtate as well in his Subjects as himſelf, who doth not puniſh the innocent with the guilty, nor oppreſs without diſtinction, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his wrath. But then they muſt content themſelves with their own borders, or ſome neighbouring conqueſt, and this is better, and a greater glory and content, than the honour of being Slaves to the luſt of a Monarch, whoſe Titles comprehend the greateſt part of the World.

CHAP. III.

The Leſſon of Obedience to their Emperour is taught by the Turks, *as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.*

THE abſolute power in the Prince implies an exact obedience in the Subjects; and to inſtill and confirm that Principle no art or induſtry is wanting, in the education of thoſe who are placed in the *Seraglio*, with deſign of preferment to Offices and great Charges; ſo that even the Oath of Obedience which Friers and other Religious men vow to their Superiors at their firſt initiation into Eccleſiaſtical Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly obſerved or profeſſed by them, than this Doctrine of ſubmiſſion to the will of their great Maſter is carefully taught to his young Scholars, who ſtand Probationers and Candidates for all the Government of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is ſubmitted to, with entire reſignation, is taught to be the higheſt point of Martyrdom; and whoſe good fortune it is ſo to ſuffer is immediately tranſported to Paradiſe. *Kara Muſtapha Paſſaw* (a great Viſier) after he had been ſo ſucceſsfull in all matters of his charge, and proved ſo excellent an Inſtrument of victories and ſervices to his Maſter, that he was applauded by all to be a moſt happy and fortunate Miniſter, was ſo ſenſible of his own condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confeſſed he was now arrived to the greateſt glory and perfection he could in this life aſpire to, and only wanted the holy Martyrdom, to die by the order and ſentence of the Grand Signior as the reward of his faithfulneſs, and the conſummation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any wages or pay coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signiors *Slave*: ſuch is the great Viſier and all the Paſhaws of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the condition and name of *Subject*; for they have a privilege over theſe, and can revile, beat and abuſe them with authority; but the *Subject* cannot offer the leaſt injury to the *Slave* without danger of ſevere puniſhment. *Slavery* among the *Turks* denotes a condition of entire reſignation to the will and command of the Emperour, to perform whatſoever he ſignifies; or if poſſible, what he conceives: though he command whole Armies of them to precipitate themſelves from a Rock, or build a Bridge with

Piles

pies of their bodies for him to paſs Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him paſtime and pleaſure. They that have been where they have ſeen and known the manner of this blind obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!* And doubtleſs the flattery uſed in the *Seraglio* towards the Prince by thoſe that are neer his perſon, is proportionable to this condition of ſlavery they profeſs, and cannot but fancy a ſtrange kind of projected baſeneſs in all the deportment within the Walls of the *Seraglio*, when there appears ſo much condeſcenſion abroad to all the luſts and evil inclinations of their Maſter; ſo that a generous Prince (as ſome have been found among the *Ottoman* Emperours) though he deſired not the publick liberty, would yet be weary of this ſlaviſh compliance, and ſeek other counſel and means to inform himſelf of the true ſtate of his own and other Kings Dominions, then ſuch as proceed from men unexperienced in any other Court or Country then that they live in. This flattery and immoderate ſubjection hath doubtleſs been the cauſe of the decay of the *Turkiſh* diſcipline in the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this preſent age of Sultan *Mahomet*, whoſe counſels are given chiefly by his Mother, *Negroes*, Eunuchs, and ſome handſome young Mignyp or Favourite; ſeldom any from without being permitted, or have their ſpirits emboldened to declare a truth, or are called to give their counſel in matters of greateſt importance. So that this obedience which brave and wiſe Emperours have made uſe of in the advancement of noble exploits, and enlargement of their Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the ſnare of their own greatneſs, and occaſion of weak counſels and means in the management of great deſigns. If a man ſeriouſly conſider the whole compoſition of the *Turkiſh* Court, he will find it to be a Priſon and Banniard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-ſlaves are immured, only by the ornaments and glittering outſide and appearances: here their Chains are made of Iron, and there of gold, and the difference is only in a painted ſhining ſervitude, from that which is a ſqualid, ſordid, and a noiſome ſlavery. For the youths educated in the *Seraglio* (which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a Priſon, under a ſtrange ſeverity of diſcipline, ſome for 20, 30, others 40. years, others the whole time of the age of man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hogiaes* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this preſent Grand Signior, are alſo impriſoned here, reſtrained with a faithful and careful guard, and perhaps are ſometimes permitted out of grace and favour into the preſence of their Brother, to kiſs His Veſt, and to perform the offices of duty and humility before their Prince. The Ladys alſo of the *Seraglio* have their faithful keepers of the black guard to attend them, and can only have the liberty of enjoying the air which paſſes through grates and lattices, unleſs ſometime they obtain licenſe to ſport and recreate themſelves in the Garden, ſeparated from the ſight of men by walls higher then thoſe of any Nunnery.

Qui libertatem publicam nollet, eum projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tedebat. Tac.

Nay, if a man conſiders the contexture of the whole *Turkiſh* Government, he will find it ſuch a Fabrick of ſlavery, that it is a wonder if any amongſt them ſhould be born of a free ingenuous ſpirit. The Grand Signior is born of a ſlave, the Mother of the preſent being a

Circhaſian, taken perhaps by the *Tartars*, in their incurſions into that Country. The Viſiers themſelves are not always free born by Father or Mother; for the *Turks* get more Children by their ſlaves then by their Wives, and the continual ſupply of ſlaves ſent in by the *Tartars*, taken from different Nations, by way of the Black Sea, (as hereafter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully) fills *Conſtantinople* with ſuch a ſtrange race, mixture, and medly of different ſorts of blood, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear line from ingenious Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongſt the *Turks* a diſpoſition be found fitted and diſpoſed for ſervitude, and that is better governed with a ſevere and tyrannous hand, then with ſweetneſs and lenity, unknown to them and their Fore-fathers: as *Grotius* takes this Maxime out of *Ariſtotle*, *Quoſdam homines naturâ eſſe ſervos*; i. e. *ad ſervitutem aptos*; *& ita populi quidem, eo ſunt ingenio ut regi quam regere norint rectius.* But ſince it appears that ſubmiſſion and ſubjection are ſo incident to the nature of the *Turks*, and obedience taught, and ſo carefully inſtilled into them with their firſt Rudiments; it may be a pertinent queſtion, how it comes to paſs, that there are ſo many mutinies and rebellions as are ſeen and known amongſt the *Turks*, and thoſe commonly the moſt inſolent, violent, and deſperate that we read of in Hiſtory. To let paſs the mutinies of former times in the *Ottoman* Camp, and the uſual, though ſhort rebellions of ancient days: I ſhall inſtance in the cauſes and beginnings of two notorious diſturbances, or rather madneſſes of the Souldiery not mentioned in any Hiſtory, which being paſſages of our age, deſerve greatly to be recorded.

Spahees the Turkiſh horſe.

This obedience then that is ſo diligently taught and inſtilled into the Turkiſh Militia (as to the *Spahees* in their *Seraglios*, or *Seminaries*; the *Janizaries* in their Chambers) ſometimes is forgot when the paſſions and animoſities of the Court (by which inferiour affections are moſt commonly regulated) corrupt that Diſcipline, which its reaſon and ſobriety inſtituted. For the affections of Princes are indued with a general influence, when two powerful parties aſpiring both to greatneſs and authority, allure the Souldiers to their reſpective factions, and engage them in a Civil War amongſt themſelves; and hence proceed ſeditions, deſtruction of Empires, the overthrow of Common-wealths, and the violent death of great Miniſters of State.

And ſo it hapned when ill government and unproſperous ſucceſſes of War, cauſed diſobedience in the Souldiery, which ſome emulous of the greatneſs of thoſe that were in power, nouriſhed and raiſed to make place for themſelves or their party. For in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, the preſent Grand Signior, when the whole government of the Empire reſted in the hands of one *Mulki Kadin*, a young audacious Woman, by the extraordinary favour and love of the Queen Mother (who, as it was divulged, exerciſed an unnatural kind of carnality with the ſaid Queen) ſo that nothing was left to the counſel and order of the Viſier and grave Seniors, but was firſt to receive approbation and authority from her; the black *Eunuchs* and *Negroes* gave laws to all, and the Cabinet Councels were held in the ſecret appartments of the women; and there were proſcriptions made, Officers diſcharged, or ordained as were moſt proper to advance the intereſt

of

of this Feminine Government. But at length, the ſouldiery (not uſed to the Tyranny of Women) no longer ſupporting this kind of ſervitude, in a moment reſolved on a remedy, and in great tumults came to the *Seraglio*, where commanded the Grand Signior himſelf to the *Kioſch*, or Banquetting-houſe, demanding without further Prologue the heads of the favourite *Eunuchs*; there was no Argument or Rhetorick to be oppoſed to this unreaſonable multitude, nor time given for delays, or conſultation; but every one of the accuſed, as he was entred into the Souldiers Roll or Catalogue, and required, being firſt ſtrangled, was afterwards thrown head-long from the Wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther ſatisfaction of their enemies revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hyppodromo*, and before the new *Moſque* cut into ſmall pieces, and their fleſh roaſted and eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Mulki*, and her Huſband *Schaban Kalfa*, both whom they put to death; nor ended this tumult here, until by means of diſſention between the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, the principal Miniſters found means and opportunity to interpoſe their power; and having executed ſeveral of the *Spahees*, and performed other exemplary parts of Juſtice, reduced matters to ſome kind of quietneſs and compoſure; and thus order reſults often from confuſion, and tumults in corrupted Common-wealths have operated good effects to the redreſs of ſeveral evils. But beſides this inſurrection or mutiny of the *Janizaries*, have ſucceeded divers other; but becauſe there hath been no diſorder amongſt them ſo notorious and memorable, as that which occaſioned the death of *Kioſem*, Grand-mother to the preſent *Sultan*, we have thought fit to record the certain particulars of it to all poſterity.

CHAP. IV.

A true relation of the deſigns managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, *and Mother of* Sultan Morat, *and* Sultan Ibrahim, *againſt her Grand-Child* Sultan Mahomet *who now Reigns; and of the death of the ſaid Queen and her Complices.*

AFter the murder of *Sultan Ibrahim*, by conſpiracy of the *Janizaries*, *Sultan Mahomet* (eldeſt Son of the late deceaſed Emperour, a Child of nine years old) ſucceeded in the throne of his Father; and the tuition of him, and adminiſtration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grand-mother, called *Kioſem*; a Lady, who through her long experience, and practice in affairs, was able, and proper for ſo conſiderable an office; and ſo the young *Sultan* was conducted to the *Moſch* of *Eiub*, where with the accuſtomed Ceremonies, his Sword was girt to his ſide, and he proclaimed Emperour through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For ſome time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleaſure, until the Mother of this young *Sultan* (as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid death of her Lord; and fearing

leſt the ſubtle and old Polititian the Grandmother (who had compaſſed the death of her Huſband) ſhould likewiſe contrive the Murder of her Son, grew hourly more jealous of his life and ſafety; which ſuſpition of hers was augmented by the knowledge ſhe had of the ambitious and haughty ſpirit of the Grand-mother, and the private treaties, and ſecret correſpondence ſhe held with the *Janizaries*, which compelled her to a reſolution of making a faction likewiſe with the *Spahees*, and *Paſhaws*, and *Beyes*, who had received their Education in the *Seraglio*, being a party always oppoſite to the *Janizaries*. Theſe ſhe Courted by Letters, aud Meſſages, complaining of the death and Murder of the *Sultan* her Huſband, the Pride and Inſolence of the *Janizaries*; and ſmall eſteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own ſafety, the Old Queen would aboliſh both the name and order of *Spahees*. The *Aſiatick Spahees* awakened hereat, with a conſiderable Army marched to *Scutari* under the Conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the heads of thoſe who had been the Traytors and Conſpirators againſt the ſacred Life of their late Soveraign; all which were then under the protection of the *Janizaries*, and ſupported by the powerful Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarum, the Grand Viſier, (called *Morat Paſhaw*) who had had his Education amongſt the *Janizaries*, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treaſon againſt the *Sultan*, ſpeedily paſſed over from *Conſtantinople* to *Scutari*, with an Army of *Janizaries*, and others of his favourites and followers, tranſporting likewiſe Artillery and all neceſſaries for entrenchment; ſome Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Van-guard of the *Spahees* and the *Deli* (which are the Viſiers Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interpoſing with their grave and religious countenances, preached to them of the danger and impiety there was in the effuſion of *Muſſelmins* or believers bloud; and that, had they any juſt pretences, their plea ſhould be heard, and all differences decided by the Law. Theſe, and ſuch like perſwaſions made impreſſion on *Gurgi Nebi* and other *Spahees*; and the poſture they found their Adverſaries in, to give them battel, made them inclinable to hearken to propoſals for accommodation; but eſpecially their courages were abated by what the Juſtices had declared, that in caſe they repaired not to their own homes, the Viſier was reſolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Neſiraum* through the whole Empire: (which is an Edict of the King and *Mufti*, commanding all the *Turks* of his Kingdoms from ſeven years old and upward to arm and follow him to the War.)

The *Spahees* hereupon diſperſed themſelves; and from their retreat encreaſed the Pride of the *Janizaries* faction, and of their chief Commanders, *viz. Bectas Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the *Janazaries*, and *Kara Chiaus* a follower of *Bectas*, who now eſteemed themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Empire. Theſe three now governed all matters, contriving in their ſecret Councils the deſtruction of the *Spahees*; eſpecially thoſe famed for riches and valour; and as one of the firſt rank, gave order to the *Paſha* of *Anatolia* to take away the life of *Gurgi Nebi*, whom accordingly he one day aſſaulted in his quarters, and being abandoned by his Soul-

Souldiers ſhot him with a Piſtol, and ſent his head to *Conſtantinople.*

The *Spahees* exaſperated hereat, entred into private Councils and Conſpiracies in *Anatolia* againſt the *Janizaries*, drawing to their party ſeveral *Beyes* and *Paſhaws* of *Aſia* (and particularly one *Ipſir* a *Circaſian* born, but educated in the *Seraglio*, a Perſon of a couragious ſpirit, and powerful in men and treaſure) aſſaulted many quarters of the *Janizaries* in *Aſia*, and cutting off their Arms and Noſes, miſerably ſlaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Bectas Aga*, ſecure in his condition, amaſſed wealth with both hands by new impoſitions, rapine, and other arts; cauſing to be coined at *Belgrade* 300 thouſand Aſpers, one third ſilver, and two of tin; theſe Aſpers he diſperſed amongſt the Tradeſmen and *Artiſans*, forcing others to exchange his falſe metal for Gold, at the value of 160 Aſpers for the *Hungarian* Ducat. The people ſenſible of the cheat, begun a mutiny in the quarter of the *Sadlers* at *Conſtantinople*, which encreaſed ſo faſt, that the whole City was immediately in a general uproar: this tumult was violently carried to the place of the *Mufti*, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signiors Preacher) and the *Nakib Eſref*, or Primate of the *Mahometan* Race, to accompany them to the *Seraglio*, where at the inward gate of the Royal Lodgings, with clamours and out-cries they made their complaint. In this danger the Grand Signior was adviſed by the *Capi Agaſi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kuzlir Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that this happy conjuncture was to be embraced for the deſtruction of *Bectas* and his complices; but fear, and too much caution hindered that deſign for the preſent; only it was judged fit, for ſatisfaction of the multitude, that *Melek Ahmet Paſhaw* (then Prime Viſier, and yet a ſlave to the luſts of the *Janizaries*) ſhould be deprived his office; which was immediately effected; and the Seal taken from him was delivered to *Sians Paſhaw*, a Stout and Valiant perſon. This Viſier being jealous of his own honour, and jealous for the ſafety of the Empire, caſt about all ways to ſuppreſs the arrogance of *Bectas* and his adherents; leſt the like ſhame, and misfortune ſhould befall him, as did to *Murad Paſha* one of his late Predeceſſors in the Office of Viſier, who for diſſenting from *Bectas* in opinion, had loſt his life, had he not eſcaped his fury by flying into *Greece*. The times were alſo troubleſome, and full of danger; the *Janizaries* kept guard in the ſtreets, not ſuffering ſo much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of ſecret conſultations; many *Artiſans*, or handy-crafts-men were impriſoned, as principal in the late tumult, againſt the conſent and order of the new Viſier; the Court was alſo divided; The *Sultans* party contrived to ſurprize and kill the Rebellious Commanders of the *Janizaries*, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Baltagees*, or Hatchet-men, ſhould encounter *Kul-chiachia* as he came according to cuſtom to the *Divan*, and ſlay him; but the Old Queen being of a contrary faction, with threats and menaces frighted that Officer from his deſign. The two Queens were exaſperated highly againſt each other; one to maintain the Authority of her Son, and the other her own; in the City the confuſion grew greater; the *Janizaries* were not pleaſed with the election of *Sians Paſſa*, knowing him to be averſe

averſe to their faction; but yet conſidering the ſtate of the times, they endeavoured with fair promiſes to allure him to their party. The Old Queen by Letters adviſed *Bectas* of all matters that were diſcourſed in the *Seraglio*, intimating that the Young Queen was Authour of all theſe diſturbances, and that therefore as a remedy of all theſe evils, it was neceſſary, that *Sultan Mahomet* ſhould be depoſed, and his younger Brother *Solyman* placed in his ſtead, who having a Mother, would be abſolutely ſubject to her tuition: ſhe added likewiſe that *Solyman* was a luſty youth, corpulent and Majeſtical, whereas *Sultan Mahomet* was lean, weakly, and unable for the Crown. *Bectas* having received this meſſage from the Queen Regent, aſſembled a Council at *Orta-giami*, (that is the *Janizaries Moſch*) where was great and ſolemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the ſpiritual function among them) ſome out of Friendſhip to their party, and others for fear of their power; only the Viſier was wanting, whom they ſent to invite, out of an opinion that he might be drawn to their ſide, and in caſe they found him oppoſite, then not to ſuffer him to eſcape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the night, when this meſſage came to the Viſier; and though it was againſt the ſtate, and gravity of a Viſier to go to any, but his Maſter; yet he thought it now time to diſſemble, and overcome the greatneſs of his mind; and ſo with a private retinue went to the *Moſch*, where the firſt he encountred was a Guard of ten thouſand *Janizaries* armed with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at firſt ſo diſmayed him that he had ſome thoughts of returning; but afterward recovering himſelf, and taking courage, reſolved to proceed; and coming to the *Moſch*, *Bectas* vouchſafed not to meet him, but ſent another to perform that Ceremony; at which neglect though the greatneſs of his ſpirit could ſcarce contain it ſelf; yet ſuppreſſing his choler, addreſſed himſelf to the feet of *Bectas*, who ſcarce ariſing gave him a faint welcom; and ſetting him on his left hand, (which is the upper hand with the *Turkiſh* Souldiery) began to propound to him his new deſigns, and firſt that it was neceſſary, that the preſent King ſhould be depoſed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place; that the Canons of the Imperial *Seraglio* ſhould be reformed, and that whereas the Children of divers Nations were yearly collected for the ſervice of the Grand Signior, none ſhould for the future have admiſſion there, but the Sons of *Janizaries*: The Viſier conſented to all that was propoſed, profeſſing a ſincere affection and reality to them, and their party, ſwearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the moſt horrid imprecations on himſelf, and his family, if he were not faithful to them and their deſigns; which gave *Bectas* that ſatisfaction that he began to perſwade himſelf, that the Viſier was really a confiding perſon, and one affectionate to their intereſt; and ſo partly from this conſideration, and partly out of a confidence of his own ſtrength, and inability of the Viſier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and ſo diſmiſſed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confuſed Council. But the *Chiachia Bei* (or Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries*) and *Kara-Chiaus* reproved very much *Bectas* for permitting the Viſier to eſcape with his life, ſaying, he had done ill in ſuffering the Bird to eſcape out of the Cage; that he had releaſed one, and permitted him to carry his head on his ſhoulders, who would ſhortly

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take off theirs, with many words of the like effect. But *Bectas* ſlighted their reproof, as proceeding from want of courage, and the ignorance of their own power; and that the time until morning was ſo ſhort, that ſhould the Viſier intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable, being unprovided both of Power and Councel. The Viſier being got free, went apace to the *Seraglio*, with two men only, thanking God as he walked, that he was freed from the hands of thoſe Tyrants and Villains; and coming to the Iron-gate, intending to paſs through the Garden, he found it open contrary to the cuſtom, and enquiring of the *Boſtangees* or Gardiners the reaſon, he could learn nothing farther from them, then that it was the order of the Old Queen: who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidents who might withdraw her that night into ſome retirement where ſhe might remain ſecure from the dangers of the enſuing day. The Viſier being entred, went ſoftly to the *Sultans* appartments, and in his way by good chance met with the *Kuzlir Agaſi Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queens Lodgings; by the Viſiers voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unſeaſonable Viſit, yet underſtanding the buſineſs, thanked him for his Vigilance; adding, that he had alſo obſerved that the Old Queen contrary to her cuſtom, was not yet gone to bed, who did at other times at two hours in the night diſpoſe her ſelf to reſt, only this Evening ſhe had entertained her ſelf in Company of her Eunuchs, and Favourites, with Muſick, Singing and other unuſual delights. Wherefore after ſome ſhort deliberation, the Viſier, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the Kings Eunuchs went to the quarters of the Old Queen, and offering to enter forcibly, were repulſed by the Queens Eunuchs; but *Solyman Aga* being a ſtout man drew his Dagger and ſtruck the chief Chamberlain *Baſh Kapa Oglar* on the face, upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *Solyman* entred furiouſly with their Daggers, at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, ſhe remained alone in the Chamber, where ſhe was committed to the Cuſtody of the Kings Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have eſcaped out of the *Seraglio*, but the Gates were firſt ſhut by order of *Solyman Aga*, ſo that they with all other favourites of the ſaid Queen were taken and ſecured in ſafe hands. This Victory was ſo ſecretly obtained, that they received no Alarm in the Royal Lodgings, though near adjoyning; ſo that the Viſier and *Solyman Aga* went to the Chamber where the King ſlept, and lifting up the Antiport, made a ſign of ſilence to the Ladies of the Guard, commanding by dumb motions that the Young Queen ſhould be awakened (for it is the cuſtom in the Grand Signiors Court to ſpeak by ſigns, to prevent noiſe, and as if there were ſome point in it of Majeſty and decency, they have practiſed this mute language ſo fully, that they are able to recount ſtories in it) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queens feet, raiſed her out of her ſleep, and gave her to underſtand that *Solyman Aga* would ſpeak with her; whereat the Queen ſurpriſed, leapt from her bed to ſpeak with him, and was ſcarce informed of the buſineſs before ſhe became ſo affrighted, that ſhe could not contain her ſelf within the bounds of moderation or ſilence, but with a great cry ran to take her Son as one diſtracted, and catching him up in her Arms, cryed out, O Son, you and

I are dead; the Grand Signior likewiſe as a Child bewailed himſelf, and falling at the feet of *Solyman Aga*, ſaid, *Lala, Lala Kurtar-beni*; which is Tutor, Tutor ſave me: He not without tears took his Lord into his arms, and with the Viſier encouraged the Child and his Mother, proteſting that they would rather die, then live to behold ſo horrid a ruine; and ſo accompanied him (ſome Ladies carrying before Torches lighted in their hands, to the *Hozoda*, which is the Preſence Chamber or place where the Principal Officers of the Court attend) Upon the approach of the Torches, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to diſcover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haſte to awaken their companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due ſervice. The Grand Signior being ſeated on a Throne, which is always remaining in the Preſence Chamber; the Officers hereof (which are in number forty) preſented themſelves before him, deſiring to know if His Majeſty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Solyman Aga* ſaid, *He that eats the Kings Bread, ſhould apply himſelf to the Kings ſervice; we ſuffered the Traitors to deſtroy* Sultan Ibrahim, *and now they would alſo take this out of our hands; To you it belongs, who are His Majeſties Principal Servitors, to afford him your utmoſt aſſiſtance. Eginſi Muſſapha Paſſa* Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Preſence Chamber, a man of a Lions Heart and undaunted reſolution, underſtood ſomething formerly of the bad inclinations of the old Queen towards the King, readily replyed, Great Maſter be not troubled, to morrow you ſhall ſee (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your feet. The Viſier and others in the mean time after a ſhort Conſult, fell to act, the exigencie of their Affairs admitting no delays; and in the firſt place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was preſented to the Grand Signior to be ſubſcribed for arreſting the *Boſſangi-Paſha* as a Traitor, for having againſt the rule of the night kept open the Gate of the Kings Garden. This was done in an inſtant, he removed from his Office and another conſtituted in his place, and at the ſame time the Oath of Allegiance was adminiſtred to him, who calling together the Gardiners in number about 500. cauſed them alſo all to ſwear faithful obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the *Ichoglans* were called up (who are the Grand Signiors Pages) and to proceed with the more privacy and leaſt confuſion, they went firſt to the Chamber of the *Capa Agaſi* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the *Seraglio*) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noiſe, and demanded what the matter was? they anſwered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him ſpeak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would firſt know who they were that would ſpeak with him: and when it was told him that it was the Viſier and the *Kuſlir Aga*, he anſwered, I am indiſpoſed and cannot riſe, but utter what you have to ſay at the Window; ſo they ſaid, by His Majeſties Order go and raiſe all the *Ichoglans* in the *Seraglio*, upon an important occaſion; and yet the *Capa Agaſi* would not ſtir, ſo that ſome believed him confederate in the Conſpiracy; but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 90 years, and unhealthful in his body. Where-

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fore *Solyman Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga* raiſe the *Ichoglans*, *Our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Agaſi* perſiſted that he would not raiſe the *Ichoglans* or Pages, unleſs he brought a Command in writing from the King. In the Interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing his diſcourſe, could not contain themſelves, but without farther order run to both the greater and leſſer Chamber of the Pages; the *Butler* came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then five hours in the night when he entred in, and running to the middle of the Chamber which was 80 Paces in length, he made a ſtop and clapped his hands together; (To make ſuch a noiſe in the *Seraglio* at night is a high miſdemeanor) at which ſome being awakened, raiſed up their heads, and ſtartled at ſuch an unuſual alarm, enquired the reaſon of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, Ariſe, the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands, the whole Chamber was raiſed; ſo that you might have ſeen all the *Ichoglans* in number above 600. to riſe and run in a confuſed manner, ſome without Cloaths, ſome without Arms to fight, ſome to fly, ſuppoſing the *Janizaries* were already entred the *Seraglio*. In this amaze came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the door, adviſing them to arm themſelves with what weapons were next at hand, and there to remain until they received farther Orders. All the other Chambers of Pages and Officers were in the ſame confuſion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themſelves. The Grand Signior all this time fearing he ſhould be put to Death as his Father was, could not be pacified until *Muſtapha Paſha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand, ſhewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and paſſing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, was deſcryed by a young man, who cryed out with a loud Voice (God grant our King ten thouſand years of life) at which all the Chamber ſhouted, * *Allah, Allah*; this acclamation rang through all the *Seraglio*, ſo that it reached the more remote quarters of the *Drogiſts*, *Cooks*, *Pole-axe-men*, *Faulconers* and others; who being ready and armed as the others, anſwered with the like ſhout.

* A ſhout uſed by the *Turks* when they fight.

Theſe preparations were not only in the *Seraglio* but likewiſe without; for the Viſier had given order to all the *Paſhaws* and *Beglerbegs* and other his Friends, that without delay they ſhould repair to the *Seraglio* with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days proviſions, obliging them under pain of Death to this Duty. In a ſhort ſpace ſo great was this concourſe, that all the Gardens of the *Seraglio*, the outward Courts and all the adjoyning ſtreets were filled with armed men: from *Galata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges loaden with Powder and Ammunition and other neceſſaries; ſo that in the Morning by Break of day appeared ſuch an Army of Horſe and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as adminiſtred no ſmall terrour to the *Janizaries*; of which being adviſed and ſeeing the concourſe of the people run to the aſſiſtance of the King, they thought it high time to beſtir themſelves; and therefore armed a great Company of *Albaneſes*, *Greeks* and other Chriſtians, to whom they offered Money, and the Titles and Priviledges of *Janizaries*, promiſing to free them from *Harach*, or Impoſitions paid by the Chriſtians; which Arguments were ſo prevalent, that moſt taking Arms, you might ſee the

Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a moſt dreadful confuſion of a Civil War.

In the *Seraglio* all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finiſhed, the *Baltagees* (who are a Guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to join with them, and accompany them to the Preſence Chamber. Theſe *Baltagees* were in number about 200 ſtrong, of large ſtature, and of admirable agility; at whoſe beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at firſt received a repulſe from the Maſter of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithful to the Old Queens intereſt, who to yield all poſſible furtherance towards the protection of her Perſon, reproved the inſolence of the Rout in coming ſo boiſterouſly to the Royal Lodgings: to which they unanimouſly anſwered that they would ſpeak to His Majeſty, and that it was their deſire to have the Old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the *Mahometan* Faith) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Maſter. *What have you to do with the Queen* (ſaid he)*? Are you worthy to open your mouths againſt her Serene Name?* He reiterating theſe and the like words, one of this Rabble ſaid, Kill that Cuckold, for he alſo is an Enemy of the Faith; and whilſt one lifted up his hand to ſtrike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarras* into the Garden, whither being purſued by five or ſix of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the coller would have cut his throat, but that at his earneſt entreaty they gave him ſo much liberty as firſt to caſt himſelf at the feet of the *Sultan:* whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of Secret Treaſure, and being about to ſay ſomthing in his own behalf and defence of his life, a bold youth of theſe *Baltagees* called *Jalch-Leferli* ſtruck him on the head with his axe, and cleft it into two pieces; the others ſeeing this firſt blow given him, fell on him with their Symitters and cut him to pieces: his blood and brains were daſhed on the rich Carpets, which moved fear in many, who were ſecretly of the Conſpiracy with the Old Queen. The Young King himſelf ignorant of the good intentions of his Servants, at the ſight of blood-ſhed, being yet tender-hearted, cryed and cloſely embraced the *Selihtar* who then held him in his arms; but upon the removal of the Corps out of his ſight and ſome ſmooth words, as that it was a ſacrifice of love to him, and the like, his childiſh tears were ſoon wiped away. In this interim the new created *Mufti* and *Kenan Paſha* one of the Viſiers of the Bench, and *Balyzade Efendi*, who was formerly Lord Chief Juſtice, and well affected to the *Spahees* party, entring the *Hazoda* or Preſence Chamber, perceiving a tumult in His Majeſties Preſence with different voices and languages, for ſome cryed in *Georgian*, others *Albanian*, *Boſnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkiſh* and *Italian*, remained in great confuſion how to proceed with order and reaſon in this important affair; For the *Mufti* and others were of opinion that the ſentence againſt the Old Queen was not raſhly to be pronounced, and ſo the matter might calmly be debated, and if poſſible, an expedient might be found for ſaving her life, and ſecuring the *Sultan:* But the Rabble impatient of delay, cryed out, defer not the ſentence; for otherwiſe we ſhall eſteem thee as one of her adherents. By this time news was come to the Young Queen, that there had been

a fight in the Streets; who as yet doubtful of the ſucceſs, and fearing if the *Janizaries* ſhould gain the advantage, *Bectas* would revenge the blood of the Old Queen by her death, came covered with a Vail into the Preſence Chamber, ſaying as ſhe paſſed, *Is this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord? Do you know the place where you are? What would you have of a Woman? Why do you buſie your ſelves in the Kings Affairs?* Some preſently apprehended that this was only a Plot of the Young Queen to make the World believe ſhe would rather aſſiſt the Grand-Mother, than contrive againſt her, which made the Pages the more importunately to perſiſt with the *Mufti* for the *Fetfa* or ſentence againſt her. But one of the Pages ſuſpecting that this Woman ſo veiled, might be the old Queen her ſelf, cryed out, This is ſhe you ſeek for; ſhe is in your hands, take your Revenge upon her: at which ſome beſtirring themſelves to ſeize her, ſhe ran to the feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cried out, No, no, I am not the Grand-Mother, I am the Mother of this His Majeſty; and wiping the tears from the Eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made ſigns to keep back, which reſtrained the forwardneſs of ſome who preſſed to lay violent hands upon her. The *Mufti*, who obſerved the carriage of the Rout, and their earneſt deſires which could not be reſiſted, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himſelf ſhould be killed, and the rather becauſe he overheard the old *Kenan Paſha* diſcourſe with the Viſier, to the like effect. So that after ſome pauſe and Conſultation with the other chief Miniſters, it was reſolved to ſupplicate His Majeſty for his conſent; which was done in theſe words; *Sir, The will of God is, that you conſign your Grand-Mother into the hands of Juſtice, if you would have theſe Mutinies appeaſed; a little miſchief is better than a great one; there is no other Remedy; God willing, the end ſhall be proſperous.* Pen and Ink being brought, the *Mufti* wrote the ſentence, and the Grand Signior ſubſcribed it, which was that the Old Queen ſhould be ſtrangled, but neither cut with ſword, nor bruiſed with blows. The writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom by word of mouth it was ordered that they ſhould carry the Queen out by *Cuſhana* (or the Gate of the Birds) ſo as ſhe might not die in ſight or hearing of the Grand Signior. The *Ichoglans* advancing the *Royal Command* on high with their hands, went out of the Preſence with a great ſhout, crying, *Allah, Allah,* to the door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met ſome Black Eunuchs keeping Guard, who upon the ſight of the *Imperial Firme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty perſons only ſhould enter the Chambers. Thoſe who were beſt armed went in, and paſſing through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queens *Buffone* with a Piſtol in her hand, who demanding what they would have, they anſwered, the Kings Grand-Mother; ſhe replyed, I am ſhe, and with that offered to diſcharge her Piſtol, but it took fire only in the Pan; with that the *Ichoglans* laid hold on her, ſuppoſing her to be the Queen; but being better adviſed by *Solyman* the *Kuzlir Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was; the door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the *Seraglio* for the moſt part are made obſcure and cloſe, and Lights are burnt in them day and night) and the old Queen had at the approach of

theſe Officers extinguiſhed her Candles and got into a great Preſs, and there covered her ſelf with Quilts and Carpets; but Torches being brought in, they looked all about, and deſcryed nothing; at which they were enraged againſt *Solyman* and would have killed him, ſaying, that he was the Cauſe the Queen had eſcaped. But *Solyman* adviſing them to ſearch more narrowly, one called *Deli Dogangi*, got upon the Preſs, and removing the Cloaths, diſcovered the Queen, who had thruſt her ſelf into a corner; at which ſhe ſoftly thus entreats him, *O brave man be not cruel unto me*; and promiſed ſhe would give to every *Ichoglan* five purſes a man (each purſe conſiſting of 500 Dollars) if they would ſave her life. It is not the time of ranſome, Traitor, ſaid he: and taking her by the feet, drew her forth; the Queen riſing up put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfuls of *Zaichins*, hoping that whilſt they were ſcrambling for the Gold ſhe might have an opportunity to eſcape; ſome of the young men gathered up the Money, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length though ſhe were heavy, caſt her down. The others offered at her life, and particularly an *Albaneſe* called *Ali Boſtangi*, who ſeeing two great Jewels at her ears, immediately catched at them and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigneſs of Cheſtnuts cut angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to ſet it off. Thoſe ear-rings were given her by *Sultan Aſhmet* in the time of her moſt flouriſhing Age, and his greateſt affection. 'Tis ſaid that ſuch Jewels cannot be found in all the Great *Turks* Treaſure, and were eſteemed by the moſt skilful Jewellers worth a years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*. This *Ali* ſhewed the Jewels to his Comrade, demanding the value of them, and his Counſel whether to conceal or reveal them: but the Comrade prized them at that rate, that the ſtout young man could not ſleep day nor night, being always in fear leſt the Jewels ſhould not be kept hid; and apprehending that they became none but the Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompenſe thereof, preſented him with 16 *Zaichins* which he accepted, deſiring alſo to be admitted into the Chamber of the Treaſury, which was granted him. Others alſo plucked her, ſome by the hands, others by the feet, ſome rifled her Cloaths, for ſhe was furniſhed throughout with things of great value ſewed in her Garments, and eſpecially in her Sable Furs, which contain'd alſo certain Magick Spells, by which ſhe conceived ſhe had tyed the tongues of all the Emperours living in her time. The Perſon who gave me this relation, informed me, that he had ſeen a certain lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and *Sultan Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindgi*, a very ignorant Fellow, but a Superſtitious, Crafty Liar, by which Arts finding acceſs in ſhort time he became a chief Favourite of *Sultan Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the *Turks* a *Softa*, he grew ſo rich in two years that none in *Conſtantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now aſſaulted by furious young men greedy of riches; ſhe was in a moment deſpoyled of her garments; her Furs were torn off into ſmall pieces; and being ſtript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, ſhe was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Chuſhana*: and being

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at the place of her execution, the young officers found themſelves unprovided of a Cord to ſtrangle her, ſo that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chappel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antiport of the *Moſch*, which being twined about the Queens neck, the aforeſaid *Dogangi* getting upon her back, pitched her neck with his hands, whilſt the others drew the Cord. The Queen though ſhe were by this time beſides her ſenſes, and worn out with Age, being above 80 years old and without Teeth: yet ſhe with her Gums only did bite the thumb of his left hand, which by chance came into her mouth, ſo hard that he could not deliver himſelf until with the haft of his Ponyard he ſtruck her on the fore-head near her right eye. There were four that ſtrangled her; but being young Executioners, laboured long to diſpatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to ſtruggle, lay ſtretched out, and was ſuppoſed to be dead, and ſo crying (*Vldi, Vldi*) ſhe is dead, ſhe is dead, ran to carry the News thereof to His Majeſty; but being ſcarce out of ſight the Queen raiſed her ſelf up, and turned her head about; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a ſecond time applyed, and wrung ſo hard with the haft of a hatchet, that at length ſhe was diſpatched, and the News carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corps, and in a reverent manner laid it ſtretched forth in the Royal *Moſch*; which about 400 of the Queens Slaves encompaſſing round about with howling and lamentations, tearing the hair from their heads after their barbarous faſhion, moved compaſſion in all the Court.

This work being over, the Viſier having given thanks to the *Ichoglans* or Pages for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Mahomet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treaſury; which being produced, obliges all of that faith from ſeven years and upward to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth with a rich covering, was advanc'd with great ſhouts of *Allah*, *Allah*; and carryed by the *Ichoglans* out of the chief Gate of the *Seraglio*, where it was ſhown to the people, who with wonderful admiration and Devotion beheld their glorious Standard; order was alſo given to proclaim through the whole City the proceſſion of the Heavenly Banner; for they ſay that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to *Mahomet* in the time of a great War made againſt the Chriſtians, as an infallible ſign and evidence of Victory. The opinion of this ſuperſtitious flag ſo prevailed, as it brought not only the young and healthful to fight under it, but ſick, and old, and Women judged themſelves obliged to run to the defence of this holy Enſign. The News hereof, and the death of the Old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the *Janizaries*; ſeveral of them, and thoſe alſo of the Principal heads began to murmure, that it was now neceſſary to lay aſide their private intereſts, and have a reſpect to their faith and their ſouls; for ſhould they oppoſe the Heavenly Banner, they ſhould run themſelves into the State of *Gaurs* or Infidels, and become liable to the ſame cenſure or puniſhment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Bectas* endeavoured to remove this apprehenſion from the mind of his Souldiers, by large Preſents both of Gold and Silver, perſwading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation; for that the Grand Signior and

his

his Mother were Enemies to their name and deſigns, and reſolved to abaſe or deſtroy the order of that Militia; and with aſſurance of Victory and encouragement againſt a people unarmed and undiſciplined, animated them to fight; and to make the buſineſs more eaſie, adviſed them to fire the City in ſeveral parts, that ſo the people might be diverted and divided for ſafety of their own goods and dwellings. But this propoſition took not with the Officers and Souldiers, who had many of them Houſes and Poſſeſſions of their own in *Conſtantinople*, but put them into great diſtractions and diviſions in their Councels. In this pauſe came an Officer from the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promiſe of a good reward) with a Command in writing which he threw in amongſt them, and galloped away as faſt as he could; crying out as he rode, He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced. The Writing was taken up and carried to the Preſence of the Principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpoſe; Bectas Aga *I have made* Paſha *of* Boſna, Kara-chiaus *I have made Captain General of the Sea*; Kul-kahya *I have made* Paſha *of* Temiſwar; *and* Kara Haſſan Ogle *I have made* Janizar Agaſi; *and I require at ſight of theſe Preſents, that every one of you upon pain of death and ruine of his Family, repair to his duty and ſtation.* In this Inſtant came News that the old Chamber of *Janizaries* had left their ſtation and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had refuſed *Bectas*'s Money and deſerted his Cauſe, and that the *Spahees* in great Troops and the *Jebegees* (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The *Spahees* came thundring in upon the *Janizaries* in remembrance of their paſt injuries, and had certainly cut them off; had not the Viſier with his Sword in his hand by good and bad words reſtrained them, and appeaſed their animoſity. The *Janizaries* of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander, and viſited him with their uſual form of Congratulation, running afterwards confuſedly under the Banner. *Kara-Haſſan* the new elected *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, went to the *Seraglio* to thank the Grand Signior for the honour done him, and with ten of his Principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signiors Preſence; who humbly kiſſing the ground, received the accuſtomed Veſts, and with ſome admonitions was fairly diſmiſſed, and ordered to reduce his *Janizaries* to better obedience. By this time *Bectas*, *Kulkahya*, and *Kara Chiaus* with ſome of their Favourites remained wholly abandoned, looking one upon the other, full of complaints and railings, each at other for the miſcarriage of the action.

But ſince it was not now time to condole but to ſave their lives, every one made to his houſe. Firſt *Bectas* fled to his home, where having ordered his Affairs, he cloathed himſelf in the *Albanian* faſhion, and eſcaped to the houſe of a poor man formerly his Friend and Confident; but the next day being diſcovered by a youth, was taken, and being ſet on a Mule, was with the ſcorn and deriſion of the people conducted to the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* and there ſtrangled. This perſon was held in ſo much deteſtation by the common people, that after his death the *Cooks* and inferiour ſort of Servants run Spits and Pitch-forks through his body; and plucking the hairs out of his beard, ſent them for Preſents to their acquaintance through all *Conſtantinople*, ſaying,

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Theſe are the hairs of that Traitor, who gloryed, that before he would loſe his Head, there ſhould be raiſed a Mountain of Heads as high as Sta *Sophia.* But *Kulkahya* being come to his houſe, filled his Portmantles with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with ſixty horſe, reſolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places ſo inacceſſible, that they have never yielded to the Turkiſh yoke: but finding himſelf hotly purſued in his journey, and that it was impoſſible to eſcape with ſo great a number, freely diſtributed a great part of his Gold upon his retinue, and thanking them for their affection and good intentions, diſmiſſed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journyed with four laden horſes with Gold, Jewels and other riches; and perceiving that this alſo was too great an incumbrance, they buryed a Treaſure to the value of 600 thouſand Dollars in the Country as they travelled; which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who diſagreeing about the diviſion thereof, the matter came to be known to the Judge of that Country, who ſeized upon it all and ſent it to the Grand Signiors Treaſury. But *Kulkahya* travelling ſtill farther with his ſingle Page, came to a Town, where wanting bread, and forced for the payment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a ſuſpicion of being one of thoſe Rebels lately eſcaped from *Conſtantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of horſe that commanded the place, he came immediately with ſome men to take him; but *Kulkahya* reſolving not to fall into their hands alive, reſiſted them until he was killed by a Muſket-ſhot, and ſo his head being ſevered from his body was ſent to the Grand Signior. *Kara Chiaus* in this interim being with 200 men retired into his Garden, was aſſaulted by an *Aga* of the *Spahees* (called *Parmakſis*) with 500 men; but that this enterpriſe might be acquired with little blood, a Perſon was ſent ſecretly to adviſe that party, that if they oppoſed the Royal Command, they ſhould every one be put to death; at which the people fled and diſperſed themſelves. At that inſtant came in this *Aga* and took him, and yet comforted him with the clemency and mercy of the Grand Signior, promiſing alſo himſelf to intercede for him. And ſo bringing him to the *Seraglio* by the Garden gate, His Majeſty had notice of it, and looking out of the Window and ſeeing him upon his knees begging pardon, the Grand Signior gave a ſign to the Executioner to ſtrangle him, which was accordingly performed. The new *Janizar Aga* who knew all the Officers formerly affected to the Rebellious party, for ſeveral nights cauſed ſome or other of them to be ſtrangled, to the number of 38 perſons; which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the *Janizaries*, that for a long time after they kept themſelves within the bounds of humility and obedience. And thus concluded this Tragedy, remarkable as well for the diſpatch as for the action it ſelf, being but the work of fourteen hours. And in this manner it is apparent, how the Leſſons of obedience which are ſo carefully taught, and inſtilled into the minds of all thoſe who ſerve and depend upon the Grand Signior are corrupted; and by the Pride, Diſcord and Faction of the Governours ſeduced from their natural Principles.

By the premiſes we may conſider more generally, that it hath always been the Misfortune of unlimited powers to be ſubject to dangers and violence, ariſing from the diſcontents and unconſtancy of the Soul-

diery: for they coming to be ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and knowing that the power of the Emperour is but fortified with their hands and heart, like unruly beaſts throw their Riders, and ſhew that the Principles of obedience taught them, are eaſily corrupted and defaced by evil perſwaſions, or ſedition in a Commander or common Souldier. Thus we ſee in the time of the latter *Roman* Emperours, who uſurped a power unknown in the days of the pure and happy conſtitution of that Common-wealth, and governed all by the Sword and their own luſts; few of them ended their days fortunately, or died in their beds and peace, without becoming a Sacrifice to the ſame power that firſt proclaimed them Emperours. And though the Mutinies and Rebellions in the *Turkiſh* Militia can hardly operate any durable alterations in the State (as we ſhall more at large hereafter diſcourſe) yet doubtleſs the Tyranny in the *Ottoman* Emperours, had provoked the people long ſince to have proved the benefit of another Race, but that there is a ſtrange kind of Devotion and Religion in their minds as to the *Ottoman* bloud, which having been the original of their Empire and greatneſs, will ever be maintained in high reverence and honour. Nor is it likely that the fair Speeches and allurements of a Rebellious ſlave will ever prevail to perſwade this people from their Religion to this Prince, or that their arms can ever be proſperous under the Enſign and Conduct of an Uſurper. And may all Chriſtians learn this Leſſon from the *Turks*, and adde this principle to the Fundamentals of their Religion, as well as to their Laws. None can more experimentally preach this Doctrine to the World than *England*, who no ſooner threw off her Obedience and Religion to her Prince, but (as if that vertue had been the only bar to all other Enormities and Sins) ſhe was deprived of all other Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Rights, and in all her capacities and relations deflowred and prophaned by impious and unhallowed hands.

And thus having given a Relation of the *Turks* Religion and firſt Principles in order to their obedience to their Prince, let us proceed a little farther into the *penetralia* of the *Seraglio*, and there ſee what farther care is taken of the Youth, in all points of their *Education*, to fit and prepare them for the management and performance of the higheſt and weightieſt Offices of State; which I judge to be one of the chiefeſt of the *Turkiſh* Polities, and is certainly an extraordinary ſupport and ſecurity of the Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Education of young men in the Seraglio, *out of which thoſe who are to diſcharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected. It being a Maxime of the* Turkiſh Politie, *to have the Prince ſerved by ſuch whom he can raiſe without Envy, and deſtroy without Danger.*

IT is a ſpecial point of Wiſdom in Princes, to provide and prefer men of deſerving Parts and Abilities to the diſcharge of the great and important Offices of State, not ſuch whom chance and fortune caſually throws on them, becauſe they will not take the pains of a narrow and ſevere ſcrutiny to ſeek men able, and fit for truſt; nor ſuch whom flattery, riches, gifts, or nobility promote, but thoſe whom the Prince by his own experience of their wiſdom, virtues, and diligence, or the teſtimony of his Councellors, and other confidents, judges capable to improve their advancement to the honour of the King, and the bleſſing of their Country: and not like vaſt Mountains which hide their heads in the clouds, and yet remain without fruit, or herbage; whoſe barrenneſs makes their height accurſed. Some wiſe Princes, and great Miniſters of our modern times, have kept Rolls and Regiſters of the moſt eminent Men famed for their virtue, and knowledge in any parts, with an account of their Family, lineage, and condition, out of which, (if in their own juriſdiction) they culled and elected ſuch, proper for their occaſions and vacant Offices.

Balzac de la Cour, Leur ſterilité fait maudire leur elevation. Cardinal *Richelieu.*

The *Turk* is not leſs careful in the choice of his Officers, and loves to be ſerved by his own, ſuch as to whom he hath given breeding, and education, and are as obliged to employ thoſe parts in his ſervice which he hath beſtowed; whoſe minds he hath cultivated with wiſdom and virtue, as well as nouriſhed their bodies with food, until they arrive to a mature age, that renders the profit of his care, and expence; ſuch as theſe he is ſerved by, whom he can raiſe without envy, and deſtroy without danger.

The Youths then that are deſigned for the great Offices of the Empire, called by the *Turks Ichoglans*, muſt be ſuch as are of Chriſtian Parents, taken in War, or preſented from remote parts; as I have obſerved that the *Algerians*, always amongſt their other gifts, preſent ſome Youths whom they have taken by Pyracy; the Policy herein is very obvious, becauſe the Sons of Chriſtians will hate their Parents being educated with other Principles and Cuſtoms; or coming from diſtant places have contracted no acquaintance, ſo that ſtarting from their Schools into Government, they will find no Relations, or Dependencies on their Intereſts then that of their great Maſter, to whom they are taught, and neceſſity compells them to be faithful. In the next place, theſe Youths muſt be of admirable features, and pleaſing looks, well ſhaped in their bodies, and without any defects of nature; For it is conceived that a corrupt and ſordid ſoul can ſcarce inhabit in a ſerene and ingenious Aſpect; and I have obſerved, not only in the *Seraglio*,

Magnaq; eſt comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem ſuus locus, & Principum cui plurimi & acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, hæ vires, Magno ſemper electorum juvenum globo circundari, in pace decus, in bello præſidium.

raglio, but alſo in the Courts of great men, their perſonal attendants have been of comely luſty Youths, well habited, deporting themſelves with ſingular Modeſty and reſpect in the preſence of their Maſter: So that when a *Paſcha*, *Aga*, or *Spahee* travels, he is alwayes attended with a comely equipage, followed by flouriſhing Youths, well clothed and mounted in great Numbers, that one may gueſs at the greatneſs of this Empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of Servants which accompany Perſons of Quality in their journeys; whereas in the parts of Chriſtendom where I have travelled, I have not obſerved (no not in attendance of Princes) ſuch oſtentation in Servants as is amongſt the *Turks*, which is the life and Ornament of a Court. And this was alwayes the cuſtom in the Eaſtern Countreys, as *Q. Curtius* reports *Lib. 6. Quippe, omnibus barbaris in corporum Majeſtate veneratio eſt, magnorumq; operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximiâ ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt.* But theſe Youths before they are admitted, are preſented before the Grand Signior, whom according to his pleaſure he diſpoſes in his *Seraglio* at *Pera*, or *Adrianople*, or his great *Seraglio* at *Conſtantinople*, which is accounted the Imperial ſeat of the *Ottoman* Emperours. For theſe are the three Schools or Colledges of Education. Thoſe that are preferr'd to the laſt named, are commonly marked out by ſpecial deſignation, and are a nearer ſtep to degrees of Preferment, and are delivered to the charge of the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the White Eunuchs. The Eunuchs have the care of theſe Scholars committed unto them, whom they treat with an extraordinary ſeverity; for theſe, being the *Cenſores morum*, puniſh every ſlight omiſſion, or fault with extream rigour. For Eunuchs are naturally cruel, whether it be out of envy to the Maſculine Sex which is perfect and intire; or that they decline to the diſpoſition of Women, which is many times more cruel and revengeful then that of men; they will not let ſlip the ſmalleſt *Peccadillo* without its due chaſtiſement, either by blows on the ſoals of the feet, or long faſtings, watchings, or other penance; ſo that he who hath run through the ſeveral Schools, Orders, and degrees of the *Seraglio*, muſt needs be an extraordinary mortified man, patient of all labours, ſervices and injunctions, which are impoſed on him with a ſtrictneſs beyond the diſcipline that religious novices are acquainted with in Monaſtries, or the ſeverity of *Capuchins*, or holy Votaries. But yet methinks theſe men that have been uſed all their lives to ſervitude, and ſubjection, ſhould have their ſpirits abaſed, and when licenſed from the *Seraglio* to places of Truſt and Government, ſhould be ſo acquainted how to obey, as to be ignorant how to Rule, and be dazled with the light of liberty, and overjoyed with the ſence of their preſent condition, and paſt ſufferings, paſſing from one extream to another, that they ſhould loſe their reaſons, and forget themſelves and others. But in anſwer hereunto, the *Turks* affirm, that none know ſo well how to govern, as thoſe who have learned how to obey; though at firſt the ſence of their freedom may diſtract them, yet afterwards the diſcipline, lectures, and morality in their younger years, will begin to operate, and recollect their ſcattered ſences into their due and natural places. But to return from whence we have a little digreſſed; Theſe young men before they are diſpoſed into their Schools, which are called *Oda*, their Names, Age, Country, and Parents are Regiſtred in a Book, with their allowance

Oda ſignifies a Chamber.

allowance from the Grand Signior of four or five Aſpers a day; the Copy of this book is ſent to the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, that ſo quarterly they may receive their penſion.

Being thus admitted they are entered into one of the two Schools, that is to ſay into the *Bojuck Oda*, or the *Cuchuck Oda*, which is the great Chamber, or the leſs; the former commonly contains 400, and the other about 200 or 250. theſe two Schools may be ſaid to be of the ſame form or rank; and what is taught in one, is likewiſe in the other; neither of them hath the precedency; all of them equally near to preferment; their firſt leſſons are ſilence, reverence, humble and modeſt behaviour, holding their heads downwards, and their hands acroſs before them; their Maſters the *Hogias* inſtruct them in all the rights, diſcipline, and ſuperſtition of the *Mahometan* Religion, and to ſay their prayers, and underſtand them in the *Arabick* language, and to ſpeak, read, and write *Turkiſh* perfectly. Afterwards having made proficiency in the former, they proceed in the ſtudy of the *Perſian* and *Arabick* tongues, which may be of benefit to them if their lot chance to call them to the Government of the Eaſtern parts, and is a help to the improvement of their knowledge in the *Turkiſh*, which being of it ſelf barren, is beholding to thoſe tongues for its copiouſneſs and enrichment. The 2 *Odaes.*

Their Cloathing is good Engliſh Cloth and Linnen, neither fine nor coarſe; their Diet is chiefly Rice, and other wholſome Meats which become the Table of Scholars, where there is nothing of ſuperfluity, as there is nothing of want: Their manners and behaviour are ſtrictly watched by the Eunuchs their careful Guardians, ſo as they cannot be familiar one with another at any time without modeſty, and reſpect to the preſence they are in; if they go to perform the neceſſary offices of Nature or to the Bath, they are never out of the eye of an Eunuch, who will admit none of their neareſt relations to ſpeak with them or ſee them unleſs ſpecial Licenſe be obtained from the *Capa Aga* or chief of the Eunuchs. Their Bed-Chambers are long Chambers where all night Lamps are kept burning; their Beds are laid in ranks one by another upon *Safrawes* or Bords raiſed from the ground; and between every five or ſix lies an Eunuch, ſo as conveniently to ſee or overhear if there be any wanton or lewd behaviour or diſcourſe amongſt them. Cloathing and other neceſſaries. Their retirement. Bed-chambers

When they are arrived to ſome proficiency, and almoſt to Mans eſtate and ſtrength of body, fit for manly exerciſes, they are trained up in handling the Lance, throwing the Iron Bar, drawing the Bow, and throwing the Gerit or Dart. In all theſe exerciſes they ſpend many hours, being conſtant in all or ſome of them, and are ſeverely corrected by their Eunuchs if they ſeem to be remiſs or negligent therein: many of them ſpend much time principally in drawing the Bow, in which they proceed from a weaker to one more ſtrong, and by continual exerciſe and uſe come at laſt to draw Bows of an incredible ſtrength, more by art and cuſtom then of pure force; and thus by conſtant bodily exerciſe they become men of great ſtrength, health and agility, fit for the Wars, and all active employments; amongſt their other exerciſes, Horſemanſhip is a principal Leſſon, both to ſit in a handſome poſture, and to manage their Horſe with dexterity; to Horſemanſhip.

draw the Bow on Horſe-back forwards, backwards, and on either ſide, which they learn with that agility and pliantneſs of their joynts in the full career or ſpeed of the Horſe as is admirable; they learn alſo to throw the Gerit or Dart out of their hands on Horſe-back, which becauſe it is a ſport and recreation the preſent Grand Signior delights in above all others, every one in hopes of preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Maſter in it, and moſt are become ſo dexterous, that they will dart a ſtick of above three quarters of a yard long with that force, that where it hits, it will endanger breaking a bone. The Grand Signior every day paſſes his time with ſeeing his Pages exerciſed in this ſport, in which ordinarily one knocks another from his Horſe, and ſeldom a day paſſes in which ſome receive not bruiſes or deſperate wounds. This *Sultan* doth many times appoint dayes of combat between the Black Eunuchs and ſome of his White Pages on Horſe-back, in this manner with the Gerit; and then happens ſuch a skirmiſh with ſuch emulation, each ſide contending for the honour of his colour, race and dignity, with that heat and courage, as if they contended for the Empire; this paſtime ſeldom concluding without ſome blood. But it is to be noted, that none of theſe exerciſes are performed by any of thoſe that belong to the two Chambers, unleſs within the Walls of the *Seraglio*; the other Pages who accompany the Grand Signior abroad, are ſuch as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we ſhall diſcourſe. To the former Leſſons of School-learning and exerciſe abroad, are added ſome other accompliſhments of a Trade, handy-craft or Myſtery, in which a man may be uſeful to the ſervice of the Grand Signior, as to ſow and embroider in Leather (in which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make arrows and embroider quivers and ſaddles, and make all ſorts of Furniture for Horſes; ſome learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean, and bruſh veſts; to waſh and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Hawks; others to excel in the Turkiſh manner of Muſick, and all other ſervices which may keep them from idleneſs, and wherein they may be of future uſe to their great Maſter. And according hereunto *Paſhaes* and great men have been denominated and ſurnamed after their departure from the *Seraglio*, to their places of Office and Truſt.

The Dart or Gerit.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily exerciſes, are tranſplanted to the firſt ſtep of preferment, which is the waſhing the Grand Signiors Linen, and here they firſt change their Cloth for Satten Veſts and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Salary is augmented from four or five Aſpers a day to eight or more; thence they paſs, as places fall, to the *Hazna-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treaſury, or to the *Kilar* or Diſpenſatory, where the Drugs, Cordials and rich Drinks for the Grand Signiors ſervice are kept; out of theſe two Chambers they are elected in order to the higheſt and ſupream place of the *Seraglio*, which is called the *Haz Oda*, which conſiſts of forty Pages; theſe attend immediately on the Perſon of the Grand Signior, and amongſt them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, *viz.*

1. The *Selictar-Aga*, the Kings Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chiohadar-Aga*, he who carries his cloak or veſt for rainy weather.

3. The

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE

Ebrictar Aga or he that brings the bason to the Grand Signor

Sclictar Aga or Sword bearer

3. The *Rechinthar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebrictar-Aga*, he that carries his water to drink or wash.
5. The *Tulbentar-Aga*, he that makes up his *Turbant*.
6. The *Kem Husar-Aga*, he who keeps the wardrobe, and oversees the washing the Linnen.
7. The *Chesneghir Bashee*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagergee Bashee*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnackgee Baschee*, he who pairs his nails.
10. *Berber Bashee*, chief Barber.
11. *Muhasebegee Baschee*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskeregee Bashee*, his Secratary.

There are also two other Officers in the Court of great respect, which are the *Dogan Bashee*, or chief Falconer, and the *Humaungee Bashee*, or chief over the Baths; but these have their offices and Lodgings apart, and not entering into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher preferment.

There are nine also are called *Ars Agalar*, who have the priviledge of presenting petitions like Masters of the Requests; of these, 4 are of the *Hasoda*, as the *Shiletar Aga*, *Tchohadar Aga*, *Rikiabrar Aga*, *Tulbend Oglauij*, and the others are of different offices, as the *Hazna Kiahaiasi*, who is the second Officer of the Treasury, *Kiler Kiahaiasi*, who is overseer of the provisions of *Sherbets*, Sugar, sweet-meats, &c. *Dogangi Bashi*, or chief Falconer, the *Hazodabaschi*, or principal commander of the Royal Chamber, and *Kapa Agasi* or chief Commander of the Pages; all which are first and neareſt to preferment, and to be employed abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as places are void.

Those that are thus through the grace and favour of the *Sultan* arrived to the dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the honour and previledge of being constantly in his eye and presence, are often presented by him with Swords, vests, bows and the like; and are permitted to take rewards for the intercessions and applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he sends them on message to *Pashaes*; sometimes for the confirmation of the Princes either in *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, or *Walachia*; sometimes to carry presents to the Visier and great men: in all which employments they are greatly entertained and presented both with money, jewels, and rich furniture for horses, so that very few of these forty, but in a short time gain estates of their own, fit to equippe and furnish them to enter into any offices of the Empire. As offices fall in order, supplies are made out of these, others rising from lower Chambers successively in their places; whether it be to the four most considerable Governments, which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus* and *Buda*, or if none of these places be void, to be *Beglerbegs* of *Grecia*, or of *Natolia*, to be *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spaheeler Agasee*, or General of the Horse, or to some small *Pashalicks* or Governments scattered in several places of the Empire. But we shall not here need to discourse of the particular offices and dignities within the power and gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a distinct Chapter of the several offices, governments, dignities and places, from whence the Grand Signiors profits arise, that so we may the better describe the wealth of this Empire, and the importance

The degrees of succession greatly obser ved.

tance of those offices, for discharge of which young men are educated with the care before mentioned.

But before the conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to adde, that none unless by special grace, are advanced from the *Seraglio*, until the age of about 40 years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonness and heat of youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of trust, they are courted and honoured by all with presents; the Queen Mother, the *Sultanaes*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Visier, and Officers abroad concur all to adorn them with gifts and riches at their advancement, as undoubted consequents of the Grand Signiors favour. And at the farewell, with much submission they visit the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal officers of the *Seraglio*, recommending themselves in the time of their absence to their good grace and favour, desiring to live in their good opinion and friendship; and this is done with as much ceremony and complement as is exercised in the most civil parts of Christendome. For though the *Turks* out of pride and scorn, comport themselves to Christians with a strange kind of barbarous haughtiness and neglect, they are yet among themselves as courtly and precise in their own rules of complement and civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the method of the Turkish *Studies and Learning in the* Seraglio.

WE have rather shewed in the foregoing Chapter, the education of those young Scholars, in reference to exercise of body, and dexterity in arms, then the method of their studies and speculations, according to the manner of our Seminaries and Colledges, which more respect the cultivation of the mind with the principles of vertue and morality, and the notions of sublime reason, then in the improvements of the body by assiduity of exercise, which makes them become active, and begets an agility in the management of arms. And though the latter is a business most attended to by sprightly and ingenious spirits, who know preferments in the *Ottoman* Court have always depended and still do on the virtue of the Sword; yet speculation and knowledge in Sciences are not wholly estranged from their Schools, which we shall in brief touch upon to satisfie the curiosity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be resolved what sort of Physical or Moral Philosophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucide which the most clearly that I can, according to the best information of the learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalfaes* or *Pedagogues* of the *Seraglio*, that their chief design is to instruct their Scholars in reading and writing, so as they may have some inspection into the books of their Law and Religion; especially the *Alchoran*, whereby may be produced im their minds a greater reverence to them. For being once passed from the first form of their A. B. C. and joyning

ing Syllables, they are then inſtructed in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein all the ſecrets and treaſure of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a neceſſary accompliſhment of a *Paſha*, or any great Miniſter in relation to the better diſcharge of his office, being thereby enabled to have an inſpection into the writings and ſentences of the *Kadees*, or other Officers of the Law within his juriſdiction, as well as furniſhed with knowledge and matter of diſcourſe concerning religion. And to adorn theſe young *Candidates* of the Grand Signiors favour, with more politie and ingenious endowments, the next leſſon is the *Perſian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint words and eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the groſsneſs, and enriches the barrenneſs of the *Turkiſh* tongue, which in it ſelf is void both of expreſſion and ſweetneſs of accent. It teaches them alſo a handſome and gentle deportment, inſtructs them in Romances, raiſes their thoughts to aſpire to the generous and virtuous actions they read of in the *Perſian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of *Platonick* love each to other, which is accompanied with a true friendſhip amongſt ſome few, and with as much gallantry as is exerciſed in any part of the world. But for their Amours to Women, the reſtraint and ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, makes them altogether ſtrangers to that Sex; for want of converſation with them, they burn in luſt one towards another, and the amorous diſpoſition of youth wanting more natural objects of affection, is tranſported to a moſt paſſionate admiration of beauty whereſoever it finds it, which becauſe it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a diſtinct diſcourſe by it ſelf. The books they read commonly in the *Perſian* language, are, *Daniſten*, *Schahidi*, *Pend-attar*, *Giuliſtin*, *Boſtan Hafiz*, and the *Turkiſh* books called *Mulemma*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* words both in proſe and verſe, facetious and full of quick and lively expreſſions. Of theſe ſorts of books thoſe moſt commonly read are called *Kirkwizir*, *Humaiunname*, or *delile we Kemine*, *El fulceale*, *Seidbatal*, and various other Romances: theſe are uſually the ſtudy of the moſt aiery and ingenious ſpirits amongſt them. Thoſe others who are of a complexion more melancholick and inclinable to contemplation, proceed with more patience of method, and are more exact in their ſtudies, intending to become Maſters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to honour and office either of *Reſt Efendi*, or Secretary of State, Lord Treaſurer, or Secretary of the Treaſury, or Diſpenſatory, *&c.* or elſe to be *Emauns* or Pariſh Prieſts of ſome principal Moſchs of Royal foundation, in which they paſs an eaſie, quiet and ſecure life, with a conſiderable competency of livelyhood. Others aim in their ſtudies to become *Haziſizi*, which ſignifies a Conſerver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by heart, and for that reaſon are held in great eſteem, and their perſons as ſacred as the place which is the Repoſitory of the Law.

Thoſe who are obſerved to be more addicted to their Books then others, are named by them *Talibulilmi*, or lovers of Philoſophy; though very few amongſt them arrive to any learning really ſo called, yet they attain to the degree of *Giuzchon* or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for benefit and relief of the ſouls of thoſe departed, who for that end hath bequeathed them Legacies. At certain houſes they read Books that

treat

treat of the matters of their Faith, and render them out of *Arabick* into *Turkiſh*, and theſe Books are *Schurut*, *Salat*, *Mukad*, *Multeka*, *Hidaie*, *&c.* which they deſcant upon in an Expoſitory manner; inſtructing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechiſm. They have alſo ſome Books of Poetry written both in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verſes of *Pythagoras*, containing excellent ſentences of Morality, being directions for a godly life, and contemplation of the miſeries and fallacies of this world, which many of them commit to memory, and repeat occaſionally as they fall into diſcourſe. For other Sciences, as Logick, Phyſick, Metaphyſick, Mathematicks, and other our Univerſity Learning, they are wholly ignorant; unleſs in the latter, as far as Muſick is a part of Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the *Seraglio*. Only ſome that live in *Conſtantinople* have learned ſome certain rules of Aſtrology, which they exerciſe upon all occaſions, and buſie themſelves in Propheſies of future contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconſtant eſtate of great Miniſters, in which their predictions ſeldom divine grateful or pleaſing ſtories. Neither have the wiſeſt and moſt active Miniſters or Souldiers amongſt them, the leaſt inſpection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the ſituation of Countreys or diſpoſition of the Globe, though they themſelves enjoy the poſſeſſion of ſo large a proportion of the Univerſe. Their Sea-men, who ſeldom venture beyond ſight of Land (unleſs they be thoſe of *Barbary*, who are *Renegadoes* and practiſed in the Chriſtian Arts of Navigation) have certain *Sea-carts* ill framed, and the Capes and head-lands ſo ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Conſtantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richeſt place of their Trade, they truſt more to their eye and experience, then the direction of their Maps; nor could I ever ſee any Cart of the black Sea made either by *Turk* or *Greek*, which could give the leaſt light to a knowing Seaman, ſo as to encourage him according to the rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a matter diſputable, whether it hath brought more of benefit or miſchief to the world) is abſolutely prohibited amongſt them, becauſe it may give a beginning to that ſubtlety of Learning which is inconſiſtent with, as well as dangerous to the groſſeneſs of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their livelyhood, who gain their bread only by their Pen, and occaſion the loſs of that ſingular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excel or equal moſt Nations: the effect of which is evident amongſt the Weſtern people where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Hiſtorians among them who have any knowledge of paſt-times, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all ſtories in confuſion together (as we have ſaid before) without diſtinction of Perſons, or reſpect of Chronology; yet as to the ſucceſſes and progreſs of Affairs in their own dominions, they keep moſt ſtrict Regiſters and Records, which ſerve them as preſidents and rules for the preſent Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may ſound the depth of the *Turks* Philoſophy, who though they reach not thoſe contemplations of our profound *Sophies*, have yet ſo much knowledge as neither to be over-reached in

their

their Treaties with the wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs loſe one inch of their Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Affection and Friendſhip the Pages in the Seraglio *bear each other.*

SINCE in the fore-going Chapter we have made mention of the amorous diſpoſition that is to be found among theſe youths each to other, it will not be from our purpoſe to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of Platonick love hath found Diſciples in the Schools of the *Turks*, that they call it a paſſion very laudable and virtuous, and a ſtep to that perfect love of God, whereof mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of love and admiration of his image and beauty enſtamped on the creature. This is the colour of virtue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved inclinations; but in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other, with which they burn ſo violently, that baniſhment and death have not been examples ſufficient to deter them from making demonſtrations of ſuch like addreſſes; ſo that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain language with the motion of their eyes, their geſtures and their fingers, to expreſs their amours; and this paſſion hath boiled ſometimes to that heat, that jealouſies and rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers without reſpect to the ſeverity of their Guardians, and good orders have been brought into confuſion, and have not been again redreſſed, untill ſome of them have been expelled the *Seraglio* with the Tippets of their Veſts cut off, baniſhed into the Iſlands, and beaten almoſt to death.

Nor is this paſſion only amongſt the young men each to other; but Perſons of eminent degree in the *Seraglio* become inveigled in this ſort of love, watching occaſions to have a ſight of the young Pages that they fancy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Moſque*, or to their waſhings or baths; offer them ſervice and preſents, and ſo engage them as to induce them to deſire to be made of the retinue of him that uſes this Courtſhip towards them, which they many times obtain, and being entertained in the ſervice of a Maſter who ſo highly fancies and admires them, they become often ſharers with him in his riches and fortune.

The Grand Signiors themſelves have alſo been ſlaves to this inordinate paſſion. For *Sultan Morat* became ſo enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy called *Muſa* as betrayed him, though otherwiſe a diſcreet Prince, to a thouſand follies; and at another time preferred a youth for his beauty only from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Haz Oda* or Chamber of his Royal Preſence, and in a ſhort time made him *Silahter Aga* or Sword-bearer, one of the greateſt Offices in the *Seraglio*. And this preſent *Sultan* became ſo enamoured of a *Conſtantinopolitan* youth, one of the Pages of his *Muſitians* School, called *Kulogli*, or Son of a ſlave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himſelf without his Company, Clothed him like himſelf,

made him ride by his ſide, commanded all to preſent and honour him, in the ſame manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This paſſion likewiſe reigns in the Society of Women; they die with amorous affections one to the other; eſpecially the old Women court the young, preſent them with rich Garments, Jewels, Mony, even to their own impoveriſhment and ruine, and theſe darts of *Cupid* are ſhot through all the Empire, eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior, and the apartments of the *Sultans*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.

A mute *A Dwarf*

BEſides the Pages, there is a ſort of Attendants to make up the *Ottoman* Court, called *Bizebani* or *Mutes*; men naturally born deaf, and ſo conſequently for want of receiving the ſound of words are dumb: Theſe are in number about 40, who by night are lodged amongſt the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their ſtations before the *Moſque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themſelves in the language of the *Mutes*, which is made

made up of ſeveral ſigns in which by cuſtom they can diſcourſe and fully expreſs themſelves; not only to ſignifie their ſenſe in familiar queſtions, but to recount ſtories, underſtand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alchoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what elſe may be capable of being expreſſed by the Tongue. The moſt ancient amongſt them, to the number of about eight or nine, are called the Favourite *Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *Haz Oda*; who only ſerve in the place of *Buffons* for the Grand Signior to ſport with, whom he ſometimes kicks, ſometimes throws in the ciſterns of water, ſometimes makes fight together like the combat of *Ethnicks* and *Dametas*. But this language of the *Mutes* is ſo much in faſhion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almoſt but can deliver his ſenſe in it, and is of much uſe to thoſe who attend the Preſence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or ſeemly ſo much as to whiſper.

The Dwarfs are called *Ginge*; theſe alſo have their quarters amongſt the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned with due reverence and humility to ſtand in the Preſence of the Grand Signior. And if one of theſe have that benefit, as by Natures fortunate error to be both a Dwarf, and dumb, and afterwards by the help of Art to be caſtrated and made an Eunuch, he is much more eſteemed, then if Nature and Art had concurred together to have made him the perfecteſt creature in the world; one of this ſort was preſented by a certain *Paſha*, to the Grand Signior, who was ſo acceptable to him and the Queen Mother that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the *Seraglio*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Eunuchs.

THis libidinous flame of depraved nature, is ſo common a diſeaſe amongſt the *Turks*, and ſo ancient a Vice, that both for ſtate and prevention of this unnatural crime, it hath not been eſteemed ſafe or orderly in the Courts of Eaſtern Princes to conſtitute others for the Principal Officers of their Houſhold then Eunuchs: the like is obſerved in the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs eſpecially have the Principal Command, and are perſons of the higheſt and eminenteſt eſteem, *viz.* the *Kuzlir-Agaſi*, who is ſuperintendent over the Women, and is a Black Eunuch.

Kuzlir Aga or Black Eunuch of the women

The other is *Capa Agaſi* or Maſter of the gate, who is White, and commands all the Pages and White Eunuchs reſiding in the Court; Under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs; as firſt the *Haz Odabaſchi* or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber.

2. The *Serai Kiahaiaſi*, Lord Steward of the houſhold, who overſees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Seferli odaſi*, or the Chambers of thoſe Pages who are deſigned to follow the Grand Signior upon any journey, and of theſe he hath care to ſee provided of Cloaths and all other neceſſaries for the ſervice they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Baſhi*, or Lord Treaſurer of the *Seraglio*, who commands thoſe Pages that attend the Treaſury; I mean not that which is of preſent uſe, as to pay the Souldiery, or ſerve the publick and preſent occaſions of the Empire, for that is in the hand of the *Tefterdar*; but that riches that is laid apart for the expences of the Court, and that which is amaſſed and piled up in ſeveral rooms of the *Seraglio*, of which there have been Collections and additions in the time almoſt of every Emperour, diſtinguiſhed and divided by the names of the *Sultans*, through whoſe induſtry and frugality they had been acquired; but this wealth is conſerved as ſacred, not to be uſed or expoſed, unleſs on occaſions of extream emergency.

4. The

4. The *Kilargi Baſhi*; that is, the chief Commander over the Pages, to whoſe care the charge of the Diſpenſatory is committed, or expences for the daily proviſions. Other Officers there are of Eunuchs; as he that is firſt Maſter of Scholars for their books, called *Ikingi Capa oglani* and his Uſher; the chief *Miergidgi* or Prieſt of the Grand Signiors *Moſque*; under whom are two other aſſiſtants, for cleanſing and well ordering of the *Moſques*.

Theſe are the only Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of the commonalty, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Aſpers a day pay, which alſo are augmented according to the *Wakfi* or Legacies of the deceaſed. Thoſe that are Curates of the Royal *Moſques*, and have pluralities of benefices of that nature, have ſometimes a revenue of a 100 *chequins* a day: among theſe alſo due order is obſerved, the younger or Junior's in the *Seraglio*, alwayes giving reſpect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THe Black Eunuchs are ordained for the ſervice of the Women in the *Seraglio*; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior, it not ſeeming a ſufficient remedy by wholly diſmembring them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining ſome relation ſtill to the Maſculine Sex, but to create an abhorrency in them; they are not only caſtrated, but Black, choſen with the worſt features that are to be found among the moſt hard-favoured of that *African* race. The prime Officer of them all, as we have ſaid before, is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or Maſter of the Maids or Virgins.

2. *Valide Agaſi*, the Eunuch of the Queen Mother.

3. *Schahzadeler Agaſi*, or the Eunuch to whoſe charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whoſe cuſtody at preſent are three Sons of *Sultan Ibrahim*, Brothers to the preſent Emperour, *viz. Solyman*, on whom the *Turks* at preſent found their principal hopes and expectation; *Bajazet* and *Orchan*, the Mother of which two laſt is ſtill living, and confined to the old *Seraglio* in *Conſtantinople*, which is the Monaſtry of the decayed Wives and Miſtreſſes of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no redemption, until either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperour.

4. Is *Fazna Agaſi*, or the Eunuch that is Treaſurer to the Queen Mother, and commands thoſe Damſels that are Servants in the ſaid Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agaſi*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets and Druggs of the Queen Mother.

6. *Bujuck Oda Agaſi*, commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kiatchuk Oda Agaſi*, commander of the leſſer Chamber.

8. *Baſh Capa Oglani*, the chief Porter of the Womens apartment.

9. & 10. Two *Meſgidgi Barchi*, or the two *Emaums* or Prieſts of the Royal *Moſque* belonging to the Queen Mother, ordained for the Womens Prayers.

The Apartments of the Women.

The habit of a Lady in the Seraglio.

AND ſince I have brought my Reader into the quarters of theſe Eunuchs, which are the Black guard of the ſequeſtred Ladies of the *Seraglio*, he may chance to take it unkindly, ſhould I leave him at the door, and not introduce him into thoſe apartments, where the Grand Signiors Miſtreſſes are lodged: And though I ingenuouſly confeſs my acquaintance there (as all other my converſation with Women in *Turky*) is but ſtrange and unfamiliar; yet not to be guilty of this diſcourteſie, I ſhall to the beſt of my information write a ſhort account of theſe Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great atchivements of the *Sultans* affection; and as in other ſtories the Knight conſumes himſelf with combats, watching and penance to acquire the love of one fair Damſel; here an Army of Virgins make it the only ſtudy and buſineſs of their life to obtain the ſingle nod of invitation to the Bed of their great Maſter.

The Reader then muſt know that this Aſſembly of fair Women (for it is probable there is no other in the *Seraglio*) are commonly prizes of the Sword, taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk* commands, or the wandring *Tartar* makes his excurſions, compoſed almoſt

of

of as many Nations as there are Countries of the world; none of which are eſteemed worthy of this Preferment, unleſs beautiful and undoubted Virgins.

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, ſo likewiſe are theſe Maids into two *Odaes*, where they are to work, ſow, and embroider, and are there lodged on *Safawes*, every one with her bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to overſee and hear what actions or diſcourſe paſſes either immodeſt or undecent; Beſides this School they have their Chambers for Muſick and Dancing, for acquiring a handſome air in their carriage and compoſtment, to which they are moſt diligent and intent, as that which opens the door of the *Sultans* affections, and introduces them into Preferment and Eſteem.

Out of theſe, the Queen Mother chooſes her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools ſuch as ſhe marks out for the moſt beauteous, facetious, or moſt correſponding with the harmony of her own diſpoſition, and prefers them to a near attendance on her Perſon, or to other Offices of her Court. Theſe are always richly attired and adorned with all ſort of precious ſtones, fit to receive the addreſſes and amours of the *Sultan*: over them is placed the *Kadun Kahia* or Mother of the Maids, who is careful to correct any immodeſt or light behaviour amongſt them, and inſtructs them in all the Rules and Orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleaſed to dally with a certain number of theſe Ladies in the Garden; *Helvet* is cryed, which rings through all the *Seraglio*, at which word all people withdraw themſelves at a diſtance, and Eunuchs are placed at every avenue, it being at that time death to approach near thoſe walls. Here the Women ſtrive with their Dances, Songs and Diſcourſe to make themſelves Miſtreſſes of the Grand Signiors affection, and then let themſelves looſe to all kind of laſciviouſneſs and wanton carriage, acquitting themſelves as much of all reſpect to Majeſty as they do to modeſty.

When the Grand Signior reſolves to chooſe himſelf a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the ſtory in every place reported, when the Turkiſh *Seraglio* falls into diſcourſe) the Damſels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy beſt directs, it being a token of her election to his bed. The ſurprized Virgin ſnatches at this prize and good fortune with that eagerneſs, that ſhe is raviſhed with the joy before ſhe is defloured by the *Sultan*, and kneeling down firſt kiſſes the handkerchief, and then puts it in her boſom, when immediately ſhe is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great honour and favour ſhe hath received. And after ſhe hath been firſt waſhed, bathed and perfumed, ſhe is adorned with Jewels, and what other attire can make her appear glorious and beautiful; ſhe is conducted at night, with Muſick and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the *Sultan*, at the door of which attends ſome Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching gives advice to the Grand Signior, and permiſſion being given her to enter in, ſhe comes running and kneels before him, and ſometimes enters in at the feet of the Bed, according to the ancient ce-

remony,

remony, or otherwiſe as he chances to like her, is taken in a nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private entertainment being ended, ſhe is delivered to the care of the *Kadan Kahia* or Mother of the Maids, by whom ſhe is again conducted back with the ſame Muſick as before, and having firſt waſhed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hunkiar Aſa-kiſi*, that is, the Royal Concubine; if it be her good fortune to conceive and bring forth a Son, ſhe is called *Haſeki Sultana*, and is honoured with a ſolemn Coronation, and Crowned with a ſmall Coronet of Gold beſet with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like fruits from the Grand Signiors bed, have not yet the like honour, but only the name of *Baſh Haſaki*, *Inkingi Haſeki*, the firſt and ſecond Concubine, and ſo forward.

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to ſome great *Paſha* or *Beglerbeg* with all the Pomp and ſolemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education; to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that ſtate and honour as becomes the dignity of a Daughter to *Sultan*. At this tenderneſs of Age, *Sultan Ibrahim*, Father of the preſent Grand Signior, Married three of his Daughters; one of which called *Gheaher Han Sultan*, hath had already five Huſbands, and yet as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin; the laſt Husband deceaſed was *Iſhmael Paſha*, who was ſlain in the paſſage of the River *Raab*; and is now again Married to *Gurgi Mahomet Paſha* of *Buda* a man of 90 years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatneſs of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulneſs of her bed, to which he is a ſtranger, like the reſt of her preceding Husbands.

After the Death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the *Seraglio* and marry with any perſon of Quality; but thoſe who have brought forth Sons, are tranſplanted to the old *Seraglio*, where they paſs a retired life without redemption; unleſs the Son of any of thoſe Mothers by death of the firſt heir, ſucceeding, releaſe his Mother from that reſtraint, and make her ſharer with him in all his happineſs and glory.

CHAP. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto ſpoken of the *Ichoglans* or Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court; it will be now neceſſary to ſpeak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam Oglans*, who are deſigned to the meaner uſes of the *Seraglio*. Theſe are alſo Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but moſt commonly the Sons of Chriſtians taken from their Parents at the Age of ten or twelve years, in whom appearing more ſtrength of body than of mind, they are ſet apart for labour and menial ſervices: Theſe are,

1. Porters.
2. *Boſtangi's* or Gardiners.
3. *Baltagi's* or Hatchetmen, who cut and carry Wood.

4. *Argees*

OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Bostange: Bashaw or Head of the Gardiners

A Holvagi or Confectioner of the Seraglio

Hasaki or an Officer employed by the Grand Signor on messages &c.

The habit of an Agiamoglan

4. *Atgees* or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchin.
5. *Paicks* and *Solacks*.
6. Butchers.
7. *Holvagees* or Confectioners.
8. The Attendants of the Hoſpital of ſick Pages.

And all other ſet apart for ſervile Offices.

These are ſeldom the Sons of natural born *Turks*, but yearly collected (as I ſaid) from the increaſe of poor Chriſtians in the *Morea* and *Albania*; by which means thoſe Countries are greatly diſpeopled; the yearly number of thoſe thus collected, amount moſt commonly, as I am given to underſtand, to about 2000. which being brought to *Conſtantinople*, are firſt preſented before the Viſier, who (according as his humor directs him) are placed in divers ſtations, either in the *Seraglioes* of *Galata*, *Okmedon*, or *Adrianople*; others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City; others to be Sea-men, and learn Navigation; others eſpecially are placed in the great *Seraglio*, where they are made to ſerve in the Stables, in the Kitchin, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signiors Barge, and to do what other ſervices they are commanded by the Superiors ſet over them, called *Odabaſhees*, who are men of ancienter ſtanding then the reſt, having about fifteen Aſpers a day Salary, two Veſts of Cloth a year, and two pieces of Linnen Cloth for ſhirts and handkerchiefs, *&c.* and theſe are ſubject to the *Boſtangi Paſha*, who is the head and abſolute Commander of all thoſe who have the name of *Boſtangees* or Gardeners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the *Seraglioes* and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of theſe *Boſtangees*, ſome are raiſed to a higher degree, and called *Haſaki*, which ſignifies Royal, and attend only to meſſages ſent by the Grand Signior himſelf, and are men of ſpecial authority. Their Habit or Cloathing nothing differs from the *Boſtangees*, unleſs in the fineneſs of their Cloth, their Collar and Girdle, according to this Picture.

The power of the *Boſtangi Paſha* is very great; for though he himſelf aroſe but from the *Agiamoglans*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signiors Gardens and Houſes of pleaſure, over-ſees all his Water-works, and hath power and juriſdiction along the *Boſphorus*, unto the mouth of the Black Sea, commands alſo the Country at a large diſtance from *Conſtantinople*; having power to puniſh all debaucheries and extravagancies in and about the Country Villages, and is capable by the Grand Signiors favour to become *Paſha* of Grand *Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Buda*, &c. and of the firſt degree which is Viſier *Azem*.

The *Agiamoglans* who are deſigned to the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, are of the choiceſt amongſt the whole number, the ſtrongeſt bodies and moſt promiſing Aſpects, and are diſtributed into ſeveral Companies as they want to make up their complement. This diſcipline is very ſevere and ſtrict, ſo that they are taught obedience and readineſs to ſerve, with watchings, faſtings and other penances.

Their cloathing is of coarſe Cloth made at *Salonica*, anciently called *Theſſalonica*; their Caps of Felt, after the form of a Sugar-loaf, of a hair colour, according as the Picture here deſcribes; ſome of them are

taught to Read and Write, who are eſteemed the moſt acute and fit to receive ingenious learning, but the moſt part are exerciſed in activity of body, in running, leaping, wreſtling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other agility wherein the ſtrength and activity of body is beſt practiſed. Their Lodgings are under ſeveral Pent-houſes or ſheds, built under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, their Diet is fleſh and rice, ſufficient though not luxurious. Out of theſe belonging to the *Seraglio* none are drawn out for *Janizaries*, but are ſometimes preferred to ſervice of *Paſhas* for their fidelity or good deſerts, and by thoſe Maſters ariſe to conſiderable riches, and commodious manner of livelihood; others of theſe in great numbers are made uſe of for attendance on the Grand Signiors Tents, when he goes to the Wars, and in other Journies are uſeful for the management of the Grand Signiors carriages and traveling neceſſaries. Such *Agiamoglans* (as we have ſaid before) that are diſtributed into other quarters beſides the Royal *Seraglio*, are principally deſigned as they grow ripe, and of ſtrength of body to be made *Janizaries* in the place of the deceaſed; ſo that their principal education is in order thereunto, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The names of the *Agiamoglans* are written in a book, with the places where they are diſtributed, their ſeveral Pays of two, three, or five Aſpers a day, which book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and conſigned to the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, who pays their Salaries every three months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and ſo accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* and the Regiment of it, which if well conſidered and weighed, is one of the moſt Politick conſtitutions in the World, and none of the meaneſt ſupports of the *Ottoman* Empire; which relation I had from the mouth of one who had ſpent nineteen years in the Schools of the *Seraglio*. I muſt confeſs I have not treated ſo amply thereof as the ſubject might require, becauſe the Rules and Oeconomy obſerved among the Women, Mutes, Eunuchs and other of the retired apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digreſſion from my purpoſe, my intention being principally to deſcribe the Government, Maxims, and Policies of the *Turk*. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diverſities of Offices and Places of great Riches and Truſt, which remain in the power of the *Sultan* ro confer on thoſe Favourites, Minions, and Creatures, whom thus at his own charge he hath nouriſhed like a Father from their infancy to inveſt in their riper years with great honours, for ſecurity of his own Perſon, and flouriſhing eſtate of his Dominions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Viſier Azem *or Prime* Viſier, *his Office, the other ſix* Viſiers *of the Bench, and of the* Divan *or place of Judicature.*

The Prime Vizier

THe prime Viſier called in *Turkiſh* Viſier *Azem*, is as much as chief Councellour; he is ſometimes termed the Grand Signiors Deputy or Repreſentative, or *Vicarius Imperii*, becauſe to him all the power of the *Sultan* is immediately devolved; there is no other ſolemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Viſier then the delivery of the Grand Signiors Seal, which he alwayes carries about him in his boſom, on which is engraven the Emperours name, by which he becomes inveſted in all the power of the Empire, and can without the formality and proceſs of Law remove all obſtacles and impediments which hinder the free ſway of his Government. It hath alwayes been the Policy of the great Princes of the Eaſt, to erect one as Superintendent over all the reſt of their Miniſters; ſo *Daniel* was conſtituted by *Darius* over the Preſidents and Princes, becauſe of the admirable ſpirit and wiſdom that was in him: and *Joſeph* was made Chief Governour and abſolute Commander over all *Egypt*, and by this means thoſe Princes who gave themſelves much Dan. c. 6

over to ſoftneſs and luxury, could with more eaſe demand account of miſcarriages in the rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to conſtitute one on whom all the blame of miſcarriages in Government might be thrown.

The firſt conſtitution that we meet with in Hiſtory of the firſt Viſier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third King of the *Turks*, who paſſing into *Europe* with his Tutor called *Lala Schabin*, he made him his chief Councellour, and committed to him the charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople* formerly called *Oreſtias*, and ever ſince the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Viſier, uſing that common appellation of *Lala*, which ſignifies Tutor, whenſoever in familiar diſcourſe he ſpeaks to him.

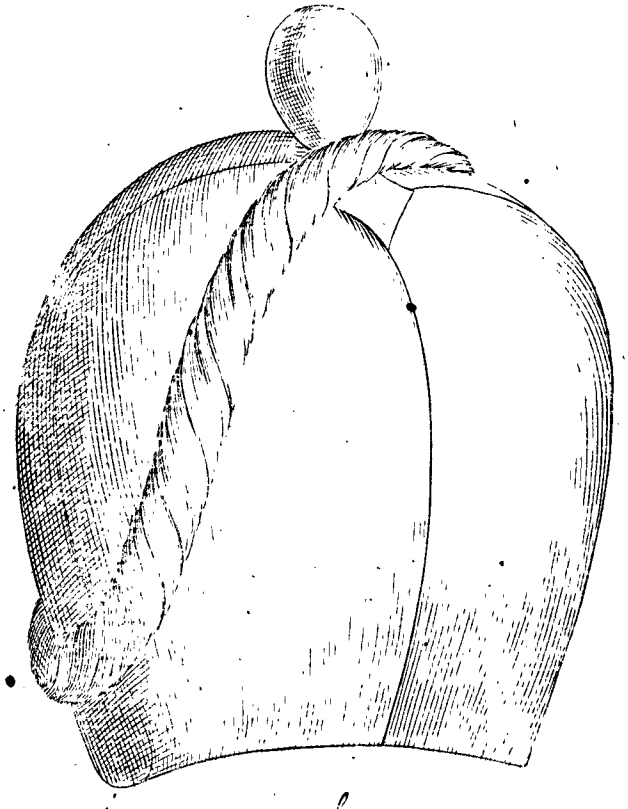
There are beſides the firſt, commonly ſix other Viſiers who are called Viſiers of the Bench, that have no power nor authority in the Government, but only are grave men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and ſit together with the firſt Viſier in the *Divan* or Court where cauſes are tryed, but are mute and cannot give their ſentence or opinion in any matter unleſs the firſt Viſier pleaſe to demand their Councel or judgment in point of Law; which he ſeldom does, not to diſparage his own reaſon and experience. Their pay proceeds from the Grand Signiors Treaſury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a year: any of theſe ſix can write the Grand Signiors Firme or Autogra upon all commands or decrees that are ſent abroad; and becauſe their riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous parts of State, they live long without envy or emulation, or being ſubject to that inconſtancy of fortune and alteration, to which greater degrees of place are expoſed. And yet when any great matter is in Conſult, and of conſiderable importance, theſe ſix with the firſt Viſier, the *Mufti* and *Caddeeleſcheers* or Lords Chief Juſtices, are admitted into the Cabinet Councel, and are often permitted freedom to deliver their opinions on the matter of queſtion.

The ſtate and greatneſs the Prime Viſier lives in is agreeable to the honour of him whom he repreſents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants; when he appears in any ſolemnity or publick ſhow, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three ſet on with a handle of Diamonds and other rich Stones, and before him are carryed three Horſe tails called the tugh upon a long ſtaffe, upon the top of which is a guilded knob; the like diſtinction of honour is permitted only to the three other principal *Paſhaes* within their juriſdiction; *viz.* the *Paſha* of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buda*; the other inferiour *Paſhaes* have only one horſe tail carryed before them, without other diſtinction or badge of Authority; and theſe three forementioned *Paſhaes* have a right to be Viſiers of the Bench, and can take their places in the *Divan* when the time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire grace and favour.

The Prime Viſier as he is the repreſentative of the Grand Signior, ſo he is the head or mouth of the Law; to him appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary courſe of juſtice, to have his caſe decided by his determination; unleſs the Viſier through the multiplicity

tiplicity of his affairs, and the ſmall conſideration of the caſe, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And that he may evidence his care of the publick good, he is alwayes preſent at the *Divan* four times a week; that is, *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and the other dayes (excepting *Friday*) keeps *Divan* in his own houſe, ſo diligent and watchful are theſe men to diſcharge the Acts of Juſtice, and their own Office.

He is attended to the *Divan*, which is a Chamber of the *Seraglio*, by a great number of *Chiauſes* and their Commanders in chief, who are a ſort of Purſevants and other Officers who only ſerve to attend him to the *Divan* called *Muta faraca*, and may be termed Serjeants or Tipſtaffes; as he deſcends from his horſe and enters the *Divan*, or upon his return goes into his houſe, he is with a loud voice of his Attendants prayed for, and wiſhed all happineſs and long life, not unlike the ſalutations the *Roman* Souldiers uſed to their Emperours; *Cum ſub auſpiciis Cæſaris omnia proſpera & felicia precabantur.* When he is ſet upon the Bench, all cauſes are brought before the *Caddeeleſcheer* who is Lord Chief Juſtice, and by him all judgments paſs, unleſs the Prime Viſier ſhall think the cauſe proper for his cogniſance, or ſhall diſapprove at any time the ſentence of the judge; and then by virtue of his unlimited power he can reverſe the Verdict and determine as he pleaſes. All Officers in the *Divan* wear a ſtrange ſort of dreſs upon their heads, called in *Turkiſh Mugevezee*, which for the moſt lively deſcription, is here delineated before you.



A. Turbant

And

And this ſhall in ſhort ſerve for what is neceſſary to ſpeak of the *Divan* in this place, in regard we only touch upon it for the better explanation of the Viſiers Office.

The Prime Viſier hath his power as ample as his Maſter who gives it him, except only that he cannot (though he is the Elder Brother of all *Paſhaes*) take off any of their heads without the Imperial ſignature or immediate hand-writing of the Grand Signior, nor can he puniſh a *Spakee* or *Janizary*, or any other Souldier but by means of their Commanders: the Militia having reſerved themſelves that priviledge, which ſecures them from ſeveral oppreſſions: in other matters he is wholly abſolute, and hath ſo great a power with the Grand Signior, that whomſoever he ſhall think fit of all the Officers in the Empire to proſcribe, he can ſpeedily obtain the Imperial hand to put it in execution.

Whatſoever petitions and addreſſes are made, in what buſineſs ſoever, ought firſt to paſs through the hands of the Viſier: but yet when a party hath ſuffered ſome notorious injury, in which the Viſier is combined, or hath refuſed him juſtice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himſelf, which is permitted by an ancient cuſtom; the aggrieved perſon putting fire on his head enters the *Seraglio*, runs in haſte, and can be ſtopt by no body until he comes to the preſence of the Grand Signior, to whom he hath licenſe to declare his wrong. The like was done by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* when Embaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, putting pots of fire at the Yard Arms of ſome Engliſh Ships then in Port, and came to Anchor near the *Seraglio*. The reaſon thereof was, the violent ſeizure of the Merchants goods, as ſoon as arrived in Port, for the ſervice of the Grand Signior, without bargain or account of them, which being taken up by thoſe Officers and great Perſons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Embaſſadour at that time Reſident to repreſent his grievances with much reſolution, ſignifying them to the Grand Signior by fire on the Yards of eleven Engliſh Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the ſcale, where they uſually lay, to the ſide of the *Seraglio*; which coming to be diſcovered firſt to the Viſier, before the grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguiſhed thoſe fires by a fair accommodation, before they burſt into a more dangerous flame, by the knowledge of the Grand Signior, who might juſtly deſtroy him for ſuffering ſuch notorious injuſtice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Perſians* in like caſes put on a Veſt of White Paper, ſignifying the aggravation of their injury is not to be deſcribed in as much Paper as can cover their bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Truſt, as it is the higheſt, ſo it is the neareſt to *Joves* Thunderbolt, and moſt expoſed to envy and emulation; ſtrange ſtories are read and confirmed by eye-witneſſes in our dayes, concerning the unexpected riſe and aſcent of unworthy men on a ſudden without degrees, ſteps or approaches to this mighty power and glory, and as ſoon have been thrown down and been the ſubject of the peoples cruelty and revenge; ſome have been the Sons but of a few dayes growth, and the Sun hath ſcarce ſet, before their greatneſs and glory hath declined; others have continued but a month, ſome a year, others two or three, and withal, even in thoſe who have lived

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longeſt and happieſt, fortune ſports with that wantonneſs and inconſtancy, that it may ſerve to be the Mirrour and Emblem of the Worlds vanity, and uncertain riches; It is the fate of great Favourites with barbarous Princes to be but ſhort-lived. For either the Prince delights to exerciſe his power in debaſing ſome, and advancing others, or hath beſtowed ſo largely, that his bounty is at a ſtop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of favours, as the other is glutted and ſatiated with receiving them; *Fato potentiæ raro ſempiternæ, an ſatias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos quod nihil reliquum eſt quod capiant.* Tac. Lib. 3. Emulation and flattery are likewiſe great, and the factions are commonly many in the *Ottoman* Court, whereby the ſtate of the firſt Miniſter is endangered. *Inſita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introſpicere, modumq; fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo vident.* Tac. Lib. 3. Sometimes the Queen Mother rules, ſometimes the *Kuſlir Aga* commands, perhaps a beautiful Woman is Miſtreſs of the power, as well as of the affections of the *Sultan*; every one of theſe have ſome Favourites, ſome or other who watch Preferments, and are intent to obſerve all miſcarriages of State, which may reflect on, or queſtion the judgment or honeſty of the firſt Authour, by which means the unhappy Viſier, either by the *Sultans* immediate command, or tumults of the Souldiery raiſed by the powerful factions aforementioned, yields up his Life and Government together; whoſe power and greatneſs being only borrowed from his Maſter, and depending on anothers pleaſure, by its ſhort continuance and mutability, verifies that true ſaying of *Tacitus*, Lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile & fluxum eſt, quàm fama potentiæ non ſuâ vi nixæ.*

But it doth not always happen that the Prime Viſier becauſe he is deprived of his Office, ſhould therefore loſe his life; for many times, eſpecially if he be a man whoſe diſpoſition is not greatly ſuſpected of Malice or Revenge to the contrivers of his fall, or be not of a generous ſpirit, and great abilities and popularity, whereby he may be venterous and capable of raiſing Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to deſcend from his high Throne of honour, to enter into the lower Region and air of a ſmall and petty Government of a *Paſha*; as not many years paſt the Predeceſſours of *Kiuperli* Father of this preſent Viſier being degraded, had the *Paſhalick* of *Kaniſia* (which is accounted one of the meaneſt of all the Governments which are ſubject to a *Paſha*) conferred on him, and here I cannot tell whether ſuch a Viſier hath not more reaſon to bleſs and congratulate his fortune then accuſe it; for in this condition he is more free from cares and dangers, and much more happy if his ambition and greatneſs of ſpirit render not his repoſe and eaſe leſs pleaſing, becauſe it is not in the higheſt Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is ſeldom ſo among the *Turks*; for with them it is eſteemed no diſgrace to be tranſplanted from the Mountains to the Vallies; they know their original, and compoſition partakes not much of Heavenly fire, and that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the hand of the Grand Signior as the Pot, to frame and mould, as is moſt agreeable to his pleaſure and will. And as it is no diſparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amongſt the *Turks*, ſo it is no new thing, or abſurdity in their Politicks, to ſee men riſe like Muſhromes in a night, and from the

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meaneſt and moſt abject Offices, without degrees or convenient approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Viſier; I ſhall inſtance in one example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in Hiſtory. It happened that in *Conſtantinople*, there was either great ſcarcity of fleſh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it ſo; ſo that they who were not ſo early abroad as to watch their uſual time of making their days proviſion, or came any thing late, were neceſſitated to paſs that day with a Lenten diet; among thoſe who had miſſed one morning their common proportion of fleſh, was one *Derviſe* a Cook of a Chamber of *Janizaries*; this man knew the blows and puniſhment he was to ſuffer from the chief of the Chamber; that through his ſloth and want of care, the whole Company ſhould that day paſs without their Dinner, which cauſed him in great paſſion with loud exclamations as he paſſed the ſtreets to accuſe the ill Government, and little care was had to rectifie theſe common abuſes: it fortuned that at that time that *Derviſe* was lamenting his caſe to all the world, and curſing the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in diſguiſe paſſed by, and ſeeing a man in ſuch a diſorder of mind, came in a courteous manner to demand the reaſon of his paſſion; to whom the *Derviſe* replyed, *It was in vain for him to be inquiſitive; or for me, ſaid he, to inform of what you are able to afford no remedy unto; for none but the Grand Signior himſelf is of ſufficient power to redreſs that for which I have ſo much cauſe to be troubled.* At laſt with much importunity he told *what great abuſe there was in the Butchery, that the Shambles were ill ſerved, that he had miſſed the uſual proportion of fleſh that morning, for his* Janizaries *Chamber, and what puniſhment he was likely to ſuffer, for having come ſhort only one moment of his due time; he added farther that the Viſier and other Officers were negligent in rectifying theſe mean and low diſorders, being wholly taken up in enriching themſelves, and intent to their own intereſt; but if I were firſt Viſier, I would not only cauſe great plenty of fleſh in this City, but at all times of the day it ſhould be found by thoſe who wanted it; and now what benefit have either you, ſaid he, by hearing this ſtory, or what releaſe am I likely to have of puniſhment by repeating it to you?* The Grand Signior afterwards returning home, and conſidering of the diſcourſe the *Janizaries* Cook had made him, whether to prove the abilities of the man, or becauſe he conceived Providence had offered this encounter, or that Princes delight to exerciſe their power in creating great men from nothing; he ſent immediately for the *Derviſe*, who being come into his preſence, and ſenſible of the familiar diſcourſe he had made him, trembling caſt himſelf down at his feet, ſuppoſing that the free language he uſed of the Viſier and the Government, was the cauſe he was now to loſe his life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aſide his fear, told him *he was reſolved to make him firſt Viſier, to try an Experiment whether he was able to amend thoſe abuſes he complained of*; and that herein he might not tranſgreſs the degrees whereby he was gradually to paſs, he firſt made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following *Aga* or General of the *Janizaries*, and thence with one ſtep to be Great Viſier, who not only remedied the abuſe in the ſhambles according to his promiſe, but proved a famous and excellent Miniſter of State; and though examples

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of the like nature are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may ſerve at preſent to ſhew in part the fortune and fate by which men are raiſed, and the unconſtancy of greatneſs and glory amongſt the *Turks* above any other part of the world beſides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkiſh Policy*, which as a wiſe Prime Viſier propoſed to certain *Paſhaes* amongſt other queſtions, What courſes were poſſible to be found out for a firſt Viſier to maintain and continue his office, and acquit this ſo dangerous charge from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; for you ſee Brothers, ſaid he, how few enjoy or grow old herein; their virtue, their care, and their innocence are no protection; ſome remain a day, a week, a month, others protract the thred to a year or two, but at length they are (to uſe our own Proverb) like the *Ant* to whom God gives wings for their ſpeedier deſtruction. The *Paſhaes* were for a while all ſilent, not knowing what reply to make, or how to reſolve ſo difficult and knotty a point, until *Kuperli* (who was then the moſt ancient and perhaps the wiſeſt *Paſha*, as the actions of his following life have ſufficiently teſtified) firſt replyed that in his opinion, the only and moſt probable means for a tottering Viſier to ſecure himſelf, is to divert the minds of the Grand Signior and other working brains, upon ſome foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the diſpoſitions of men, and ſets them on work to raiſe themſelves with inteſtine and civil evils; when War buſies their Spirits, and employs them to gain renown and glory by Martial actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are droven from our own homes; *Conſiliis & aſtu res externas moliri, arma procul habere*, Tac. lib. 6. And it is poſſible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuperli*, who began the laſt War with *Germany*, might go upon this Maxim of his Fathers; for in all matters of his Government, he is obſerved to walk by the ſame rules and directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his inheritance.

And yet for all this doubtful eſtate of the Prime Viſiers, ſome have been known to manage this office 18 or 19 years, and afterwards wearied with care and pains, to acquit it by a natural death; from whence this queſtion may ariſe, whether the favour or diſpleaſure of the Prince depends on the deſtiny or fortune we are born to, or whether humane Counſel can aſſign a way between contumaciouſneſs and flattery, wherein to ſteer free from danger and ambition? *Unde dubitare cogor, fato & ſorte naſcendi, ut cætera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offenſio in illos, an ſit aliquid in noſtris conſiliis, liceatq; inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obſequium pergere iter, ambitione & periculis vacuum.* Tacit. lib. 4. But we find but few examples of this kind. For if Viſiers have been evil, their own cruelty and covetouſneſs have haſtened their fate; if good, their merits have been their ruine; leſt the great benefits their merits have procured to their Prince ſhould ſeem to want reward, or be dangerous or difficult to requite, *Beneficia eouſq; læta, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur*, Tac. lib. 4.

The Revenues of the firſt Viſier which iſſue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which ariſe from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the reſt of the immenſe riches which accrues to this charge ſo

full of cares and danger, flows from all the quarters of the Empire. For no *Baſſaw* or Miniſter of truſt enters his place without his Preſent and offering to the firſt Viſier, to obtain his conſent, and purchaſe a continuance of his favour. Thoſe that have Governments abroad, have always their Agents at Court, who with gifts continually mollifie the Viſiers mind, entreating him to repreſent their ſervice to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and grateful manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all *Paſhaes* and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Preſents to the Grand Signior of conſiderable valuë, at which time the firſt Viſier neither will not want his own acknowledgments, he is yet farther treated by all Perſons with ſums of money, as the nature of their buſineſs is, which is not ſecretly, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize, and Trade; and Juſtice and Favours made as vendible and ſet as publick to ſale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and places of common Mart; ſo that if the firſt Viſier proves covetous (as commonly they do who are raiſed from nothing, and uſed always to thrift) and reſolves to loſe nothing of what he may get, his income is incredible, and may equal that which is the Rent of the Grand Signior, and in a few years amaſſe an immenſe riches and wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkiſh* Policy is not ignorant, and accordingly provides remedies to drain the inundations of the Viſiers Coffers; at firſt by extorting great ſums of money from him at his entrance to the charge; then under colour of Friendſhip and Favour the Grand Signior makes him Viſits, in requital whereof rich Preſents are made him, as Gratitude for ſo much Honour; next he many times ſends to him for a gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Horſes and other things of a great value; and in this manner ſeveral contrivances are uſed to turn theſe Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean; amongſt which this preſent Grand Signior *Mahomet* the fourth hath found out one way amongſt the reſt, putting the Viſier often to the charges of his Dinner, ſending to his Kitchin for 20 diſhes of Meat, which is the uſual proportion of the Grand Signiors ordinary Table, and by inviting himſelf to a Banquet many times at the Viſiers expences; and this being done ſo frequently, gives the world occaſion to believe that he demands it out of no other deſign then narrowneſs of ſoul to ſave the charges of his own Dinner; and the rather it is ſo believed becauſe this Emperour is reputed of a covetous diſpoſition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the ways and means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be poſſeſſed of the gains and profits collected by his Viſier, and other officers, requires a particular diſcourſe apart, which ſhall in its due time and place be treated of; and this ſhall for the preſent ſuffice to have ſpoken concerning the Prime Viſier and his office.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and ſeveral Governments of the Empire.

HE that will deſcribe the Polities of a Country, muſt endeavour eſpecially in the moſt exact and punctual manner poſſible to declare the ſeveral Offices, Dignities and Riches of it, that ſo a more eaſie computation may be calculated of its ſtrength, numbers of Men, Fortifications, Forces by Sea, where beſt defended, and where moſt eaſily vulnerable and expoſed.

The next to the Viſier *Azem* or the firſt Viſier, are the ſeveral *Beglerbegs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-Dukes in ſome parts of Chriſtendom) having under their juriſdiction many *Sangiacks* or Provinces, *Beyes*, *Agaes* and others; To every one of theſe the Grand Signior in honour beſtows three Enſigns (called in Turkiſh *Tugh*) which are ſtaves trimmed with the tail of a Horſe with a golden Ball upon the top, and this is to diſtinguiſh them from *Baſhaws* who have two Enſigns; and the *Sangiack-beg*, who hath alſo the name of *Paſcha*, and hath but one. When a *Paſcha* is made, the Solemnity uſed at the conferring his office, is a Flag or Banner carryed before him, and acompanied with Muſick and Songs by the *Mirialem*, who is an Officer for this purpoſe only, for inveſtiture of *Paſhaes* in their office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have ſeveral Provinces called *Sangiacks* under their command are of two ſorts; the firſt is called *Has ile Beglerbeglik*, which hath a certain Rent aſſigned out of the Cities, Countries and Signories allotted to the Principality; the ſecond is called *Saliane Beglerbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain Salary or Rent, collected by the Grand Signiors Officers with the Treaſure of the whole Government, out of which are paid alſo the *Sangiack Beglers*, that is, the Lords of the ſeveral Counties, Towns or Cities, and the Militia of the Country.

It is impoſſible exactly to deſcribe the Wealth and ways of Gains exerciſed by theſe Potent Governours to enrich themſelves; for a *Turk* is ingenious to get Wealth, and haſty to grow rich; howſoever we will ſuccinctly ſet down the certain ſums of Revenue which are granted them by Commiſſion from the Grand Signior, aſſigned them out of every particular place of their Government; beſides which they have the Profits of all Wefts and Strays, Goods of Felons, ſale of Vacant Church-Offices, Slaves, Horſes and Cattel, which by Mortality or other accidents have no certain Maſter; to which may be added the benefit of their *Avanias* or falſe Accuſations, whereby they invade the Right and Eſtates of their Subjects; as alſo of the Robberies of their people and ſtrangers, by their own Slaves and Servants, whom they ſend abroad with that deſign; and having committed the Robberies themſelves, under pretence of diſcovery of the Crime and doing Juſtice, they ſeize the innocent people, torture and impriſon them, and perhaps put ſome to death for expiation of their own offences. To come nearer then to this purpoſe. The *Beglerbegs* of the firſt ſort are in number 22, who have their Revenue allotted them in the places that they govern, collected by their own Officers according to Commiſſion,

of which the firſt is of *Anatolia*, anciently called *Aſia minor*, afterwards *Anatolia*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, from its more Eaſtern ſituation in reſpect of *Greece*; the yearly Revenue of which in the Grand Signiors books called the old Canon is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under its juriſdiction 14 *Sangiack Kiotahi* where the *Beglerbeg* reſides in *Phrygia Magior*, *Sarahan*, *Aidin*, *Kaſtamoni*, *Hudanendighiar*, *Boli*, *Menteſche*, *Angora* otherwiſe *Ancyra*, *Karahyſar*, *Tekeili*, *Kiangri*, *Hamid*, *Sultan Ughi*, *Kareſi*, with the command of 22 Caſtles.

An Aſper is about the value of a half-penny.

2. *Caramania*, anciently called *Cilicia*, and was the laſt Province which held out belonging to the *Caramanian* Princes, when all places gave way to the flouriſhing Progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms; the Revenue hereof is 660074 Aſpers, and hath under its juriſdiction 7 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Iconium*, which is the Court of the *Beglerbeg* in *Cappadocia*, *Nigkde*, *Kaiſani*, otherwiſe *Ceſanca*, *Jeniſcheheri*, *Kyrſchehri*, *Akſchehri*, *Akſerai*: And in this Principality are three Caſtles, at *Iconium* one, at *Larende* and *Mendui*, under the *Paſha's* immediate command, and ſeventeen others in ſeveral *Sangiacks*.

3. *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe *Meſopotamia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand and 660 Aſpers, and hath under its juriſdiction 19 *Sangiacks*, with five other Governments called *Hukinmet* in *Turkiſh*, eleven of which *Sangiacks* are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, and eight are *Curdian* Counties, or of the people called *Kurts*; for when *Curdia* was conquered, the Country was divided, and diſtinguiſhed into the nature of *Sangiacks*, but with this difference of right inheritance and ſucceſſion to the Goods and Poſſeſſions of their Parents, and ſucceed as Lords of Mannors, or to other petty Governments by Blood and Kindred. And as other Lords of *Sangiacks*, *Timariots*, or Barons pay the Grand Signiors duties, and hold their Land in Knights ſervice, or other tenure whereby they are obliged to attend and follow their Commanders to the Wars, whenſoever they are called thereunto by the Grand Signiors ſummons: theſe that are regiſtred for *Hukiumet* have no *Timariots* or Lords to command them, but are free from all Duties and Impoſitions, and are abſolute Maſters of their own Lands and Eſtates. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties are *C Harpu*, *Ezani*, *Synreck*, *Nesbin*, *Chatenghif*, *Tchemiſchekrek*, *Seared*, *Muſarkin*, *Aktchiè*, *Kala*, *Habur*, *Sangiar* otherwiſe *Diarbekir*, which is the place of reſidence of the *Beglerbeg*. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are entailed upon Families are *Sagman*, *Kulab*, *Mechrani*, *Tergil*, *Atak*, *Pertek*, *Tchifakichur*, *Tchirmek*.

Which ſignifies a free command.

4. Of *Scham* otherwiſe *Damaſcus*, the certain Revenue of which is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under it *Sangiacks* 7 with *Has*, where the Contributions by the *Beglerbegs* Officers are collected upon the Country, and are *Kadeſcherif* alias *Jeruſalem*, *Gaza*, *Sifad*, *Nabolos* alias *Naples* in *Syria*, *Aglun*, *Bahura*, and *Damaſcus*, the City where the *Beglerbeg* reſides. He hath farther three with *Saliane*, for account of which he is paid by the Kings Officers; and thoſe are *Kadmar*, *Saida*, *Beru*, *Kiurk*, *Schubek*, where are no *Timariots*, but the Inhabitants are true, and abſolute Maſters of their own Eſtates in the ſame manner as the *Curdi* are, which we have before-mentioned; the Caſtles here are for the moſt part demoliſhed, and ſcarce worthy our notice.

5. Is of *Siwas* a City in *Armenia major*, hath a Revenue of 900 thou-

thouſand Aſpers, and hath under his Dominions ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Amaſia*, *Tchurum*, *Buradick*, *Demurki*, *Gianick*, *Arebkir*, the Caſtles of which are 19.

6. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Erzrum* on the confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand and 660 Aſpers, and hath under his Government eleven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Karahizar*, *Scharki*, *Kieifi*, *Paſin*, *Esber*, *Hanes*, *Tekman*, *Turtum*, *Meyenkerd*, *Mamervan*, *Kyzutchan*, *Melazkerd*; and hath thirteen Caſtles.

7. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Wan* or *Van* a City in *Media*, hath a Revenue of a Million a hundred and thirty two thouſand 209 Aſpers, and commands 14 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Adilgiwar*, *Ergiſch*, *Muſch*, *Barkiri*, *Kiarkian*, *Kiſani*, *Eſpaird*, *Agakis*, *Ekrad*, *Benikutur*, *Kalaibaierid*, *Berdea* and *Edegick*.

8. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Tchildir* on the confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of nine hundred twenty five thouſand Aſpers, and commands nine *Sangiacks*, viz. *Olti*, *Hartus*, *Ardnug*, *Erdehamburek*, *Hagrek*, *Puſenhaf* alias *Puſenhal*, *Machgil*, *Igiare*, *Penbeck*, *Pertekrek*.

9. Is the Government of *Scheherezul* in *Aſſyria*, the *Paſcha* of which hath a Revenue of a Million of Aſpers, and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Surutchuk*, *Erbil*, *Kiuſchaf*, *Schehribazar*, *Chabkiule*, *Gebthamrin*, *Hezurd Merd*, *Dulchurán*, *Merghiaue*, *Haninudevin*, *Agiur*, *Neitutari*, *Sepeuzengire*, *Ebruuan*, *Tauudan*, *Badeberend*, *Belkas*, *Vicheni*, *Garikalo*, *Renghene*.

10. Is the Government of *Halep* or *Aleppo*, hath eight hundred and ſeventeen thouſand 772 Aſpers Revenue, and commands 7 *Sangiacks* with *Has* and 2 with *Saliane*: Of the firſt ſort are *Adana*, *Ekrad*, *Kelis*, *Beregek*, *Mearre*, *Gazir*, *Balis*: Of the other are *Matik* and *Turkman* which is *Turcomania*, of theſe at this day the Revenue is farmed, and are not called *Sangiacks* but *Agalik*, for in them are no *Timariots*, but every man is Lord and Maſter of his own Lands: This Government hath five Caſtles.

11. Is the Government of *Maraſch* near the River *Euphrates*, ſituated between *Meſopotamia* and *Aleppo*, otherwiſe called by the *Turks Zulkadrie*, hath a Revenue of 628 thouſand 450 Aſpers, and commands four *Sangiacks* only, viz. *Malatia*, *Aſab*, *Kars*, and *Samſad*, and hath four Caſtles.

12. Is the Government of *Kibros* otherwiſe called *Cyprus*, hath a Revenue five hundred thouſand 650 Aſpers, and commands 7 *Sangiacks*, viz. 4 with *Has*, and are *Itchili*, *Tarſus*, *Alanie*, *Schis*; the other 3 with *Saliane*, are *Kenine Baf Mauſa*, *Lefkuſcha* or *Larnica*, which is the place of the *Paſcha's* reſidence, and hath 14 Caſtles.

13. Is the Government of *Tarabolos Seham*, otherwiſe *Tripoly* of *Syria*, hath a a Revenue eight hundred thouſand Aſpers, at this place the *Paſcha* reſides, and hath under him 4 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hams*, *Hama*, *Gemele* and *Selemie*, and hath only one Caſtle in the *Sangiack* of *Hams* called *Faſlulekrad*.

14. Is the Government of *Terbozan*, otherwiſe *Trabezond*, encompaſſed with a ridge of Mountains, according to a Poet born in that place,

Vertice Montano Trapezus incluſa receſſit.

Formerly the Imperial Seat of the *Comneni* reigning over *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and the parts of *Pontus*, founded by *Alexius Comnenus*, who upon the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the Weſtern Chriſtians fled to this place, which flouriſhed until taken by *Mahomet* the Great; it is ſituate on the *Euxine* or black Sea, and ſtill a place of conſiderable Traffick, eſpecially made rich for the fiſhing, out of which and the cuſtoms the *Paſcha*, though he hath no *Sangiacks* under his Government, hath yet a Revenue allotted of 734 thouſand 850 Aſpers, with 14 Caſtles to defend the City, and the Dominions belonging thereunto.

15. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Kars* a City near *Erzrum*, hath a Revenue of 820 thouſand 650 Aſpers, and commands ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Erdehankiutchuk*, *Giugewan*, *Zaruſchan*, *Ghegran*, *Kughizman*, *Paſin*.

16. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Muſul*, otherwiſe called *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, hath a Revenue of 681 thouſand and 56 Aſpers, and commands five *Sangiacks*, viz. *Bagiwanlu*, *Tekrit*, *Zerbit*, *Eski Muſul* or old *Ninive*, and *Hurun*.

17. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rika* hath a Revenue of 680 thouſand Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Ghemaſche*, *Chabur*, *Dizirhebe*, *Benirabue*, *Serug*, *Biregek*, *Ane*.

Theſe are all the Governments which are in *Aſia* with *Has*, let us now paſs into *Europe*.

18. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rumuli* otherwiſe *Romania*, which is the moſt honourable *Turkiſh* charge in *Europe*, hath a Revenue of a Million and a hundred thouſand Aſpers, the ſeat of the *Paſcha* is *Sofia*, and commands 24 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Kioſtendit* otherwiſe *Juſtiniana*, *Mora* otherwiſe *Morea*, *Skenderi Tirhala*, *Siliſtra*, *Nigheboli*, *Uchri*, *Awlona*, *Jania*, *Ilbrazan*, *Tchirmen*, *Selanik* otherwiſe *Salonica*, *Wize*, *Deluniia*, *Uskiup*, *Kirkkeliſa*, *Dukakin*, *Wedin*, *Alagehizar*, *Serzerin*, *Waltcharin*, *Bender*, *Akkerman*, *Ozi*, *Azak*; But it is to be obſerved that though *Morea*, according to the ancient Canon, was under the juriſdiction of the *Paſcha* of *Romania*, yet now it is divided and made part of the Revenue of the *Valede* or Queen Mother, where a Farmer of her Rents and Incomes now reſides.

19. Is the charge of the *Kapudan* otherwiſe Captain *Paſcha*, or as the *Turks* call him, General of the White Seas, hath a Revenue of 885 thouſand Aſpers; he is Admiral of the Grand Signiors Fleet, and Commands as far as the *Turkiſh* Power by Sea extends; and commands 13 *Sangiacks*; viz. *Galipoli*, which is the proper place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence, *Egribuz* otherwiſe *Negropont*, *Karlieli*, *Ainebahti*, *Rhædes*, *Midillu* or *Metilene*, *Kogia Eli*, *Betga*, *Siſla*, *Mezeſtra*, *Sakis* or the Iſland of *Scio*, *Benekſche* or *Malvatia*; ſome others adde *Nicomedia*, *Limnos* and *Nixia*.

20. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Budun* otherwiſe *Buda* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and commands twenty *Sangiacks*; viz. *Agri*, *Kanyſia*, *Samandra*, *Petchui*, *Uſtunubilgrad* or *Stultwiſſenberg*, *Oſtrogon* or *Strigoinum*, *Sekdin*, *Chatwan*, *Semutum*, *Sirem*, *Kupan*, *Filek*, *Sekitwar*, *Sektches*, *Setchre*, *Novigrad*, *Seksard*, *Belgrade* or *Alba Regalis*.

And

And now lately in the year 1663. that *Wiwar* or *Newhauſel* was taken, a new *Sangiack* is ſince added.

21. The *Paſcha* of *Temeſwar* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and hath under his command 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Lipona*, *Tchanad*, *Ghiola*, *Mudava*, *Waradin*, to which alſo *Janova* is added, conquered in the year 1663.

22. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Boſna* in *Myria*, divided formerly into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonia*; his Revenue is a and commands 8 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Herſek*, *Kelis*, *Ezdernik*, *Puzga*, *Feragine*, *Zagine*, *Kirka*, *Rahvige*.

There are other *Paſchas* of *Coffa*, *Theodoſia* in *Taurica* in *Cherſoneſus*, which having no *Sangiacks*, no *Timariots* nor *Ziamets* under them, but only a few beggerly Villages which we ſhall purpoſely omit, as not worthy the notice. And ſo much ſhall be ſaid for the *Paſchas* or *Beglerbegs* with *Has*, or with the Revenue impoſed upon Countries under their command, collected by their own Officers.

Thoſe that are with *Saliane*, or paid out of the Grand Signiors Treaſury, are:

1. The *Paſcha* of *Gran Caira*, called by the *Turks Miſir*, hath a Revenue of 600 thouſand *Scheriffs* or *Zechins* a year, which he may juſtly and honeſtly pretend to; as much is the Tribute yearly paid the Grand Signior from that place; which is moſt commonly brought ſince the War with *Venice* upon Camels backs by land, with a guard of 500 men, not to expoſe it to the danger of being intercepted at Sea; another ſum of 600 thouſand *Zechins* yearly goes to the payment of the *Turks* Forces in *Egypt*; beſides the vaſt ſums of money this *Paſcha* extorts with inſupportable Avarice and Tyranny from the Natives of the Country, during the ſpace of his 3 years Government; by which means he grows exceſſive rich, and able to refund a good ſtream into the Grand Signiors Coffers at his return, as hereafter ſhall be the ſubject of our more large diſcourſe; he commands 16 *Sangiacks* as is reported, but not being regiſtred in the Kings Book, I let them paſs without naming them.

2. Is the Government of *Bagdat*, otherwiſe *Babylon*, hath a Revenue of a Million and 700 thouſand Aſpers, and commands 22 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Dertenk*, *Gezan*, *Gewazir*, *Renk*, *Aiadiie*, *Gelle*, *Semwat*, *Remaliie*, *Beiare*, *Derne*, *Debare*, *Waſit*, *Gebkiule*, *Gedide*, *Keſend*, *Kaſrſchirin*, *Ghiilan*, *Karag*, *Anne*, *Alſebah*, *Demurkapu*, *Deirberhiie*, *Karaniie*.

3. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Temen*, which is in *Arabia Fælix*, whoſe place of reſidence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea; which place and Country being recovered for the moſt part again from the *Turk* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needful to mention the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks* it formerly commanded.

4. Is the Government of *Habelch* upon the confines of the *Abiſſines* in *Ethiopia*, called alſo by the *Turks Huſtitzebit*, which extending it ſelf to the Dominions of *Preſter John*, being far diſtant from the ſuccours of the *Ottoman* force, is now wholly loſt to the *Turk*; ſo that we can neither aſſign the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks*.

5. In the Government alſo of *Boſra* on the confines of *Perſia*, a Maritime City in the *Sinus Perſicus* near *Byblis* in *Phœnicia*, were reckoned 26 *Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other power there,

there, nor benefit thence, excepting only that prayers are made conſtantly for the *Sultan.*

6. In the Government of *Labſa* on the confines of *Ormus* in *Perſia*, are counted 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Aiwen*, *Sakul*, *Negnie*, *Netif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*, but theſe Countries are poor, and have ſcarce any place in the Grand Signiors Regiſters.

To theſe we ſhould adde the Governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli* in *Barbary*; but that being much fallen off from the *Turks* obedience and become almoſt independent of themſelves; we ſhall paſs by the diſcourſe of them, eſpecially becauſe of late years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with thoſe Countries, hath made the ſtate and condition of that people well known and familiar in *England.*

The uſe of the particular Catalogue fore-going, is to demonſtrate the greatneſs and power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath ſo many conſiderable Governments and Principalities in its poſſeſſion, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick ſpirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprizes, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the power of the *Sultan* to gratifie them with. And alſo to help in the juſt computation of the number of men the *Turk* can bring into the Field, every *Paſcha* being obliged for every 5000 Aſpers Rent to bring a Souldier to the War: though notwithſtanding, they often appear for oſtentation and gain of the Grand Signiors favour with more men then their due complement; as in the laſt War with *Germany*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* brought 10000 effective men into the Field.

Of theſe *Beglerbegs* five have the Title of Viſiers, which ſignifies as much as Councellor, *viz.* the *Paſchas* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania*, and *Buda*; which are charges of the greateſt riches, power, and fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank, or order according to the Priority of Conqueſt, and Antiquity in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks.*

Theſe are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whoſe reſpective juriſdictions are always three principal Officers, *viz.* the *Mufti*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwiſe called *Reis Kitab*, which is Lord Chancellour or Secretary of State, or rather thoſe two offices united into one; and the third is *Tefterdar Paſhaw*, or Lord Treaſurer. Theſe three officers are near Councellors and attendants on their *Paſhaws*, and ſo alſo they are on the Prime Viſier, whoſe *Mufti*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Tefterdar* have a ſuperiority and dignity above the others, and are to them, as the original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufti* we ſhall ſpeak in due place. The *Reis Efendi*, which ſignifies chief of the Writers or Book-men; (for the *Turks* call always men of the Law, and Profeſſors of the Pen, and Parochial Prieſts by the Title of *Efendi*) is always preſent and attending on the Viſier, for paſſing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commiſſions into all parts of the Empire; which are daily diſpatched in thoſe numbers into all places, as is incredible; for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary power, and according to the exigences of affairs, then by a ſet rule, or form, every buſineſs requires its diſtinct order; and the very Courts of Juſtice are moderated according to the commands and directions

they

they receive from above; by which means the *Reis Efendi's* hands are filled with ſuch a multitude of buſineſs, as employs great numbers of Writers; and conſequently brings in riches flowing to his Coffers; ſome in which Office, who by their parts, induſtry, and courage have gained authority and reſpect, have amaſſed wealth, which might compare with the riches and treaſure of Princes: We ſhall here inſtance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his knowledge and riches, called *Samozade*; one who had piled thoſe heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to inſert in a Catalogue in this place. It may ſuffice, that being executed in the time of the laſt Wars againſt the Emperour of *Germany* for ſome conſpiracy againſt the Great Viſier, ſuch a Treaſure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiſcated to the Grand Signior) as was ſufficient to have enriched and raiſed his Prince, had he been impoveriſhed, and in a declining condition.

The other Great Officer, is the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick diſburſements; this Office is different from the Treaſurer of the *Seraglio* (of whom we have already ſpoken) who attends to nothing elſe but the expences of the Court, and to gather in the accidental profits and preſents paid to the Grand Signior; which is ſo conſiderable, that every *Sultan* (for the moſt part) amaſſes a particular treaſure of his own, which after his death is incloſed in a certain Chamber, and ſhut with an Iron gate, and the Key-hole ſtopped with Lead, and over the Port is writ in Golden Letters, The Treaſure of ſuch a *Sultan*. And this ſhall ſuffice to have ſpoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tartars *and* Tartar Han, *and in what manner they depend upon the* Turks.

THe *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongſt the other Princes ſubject to the *Ottoman* power; I mean not the *Aſiatick Tartars* or the *Tartar* of *Busbeck* (though ſo much *Mahometan*, as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himſelf) for having conquered *China*, and poſſeſſing a greater Empire then the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any ſubjection or degree of inferiority to the *Turk*; nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the *Sultan*; for the *Kalmuk* and *Citrahan Tartars* (men of ſtrange barbarity, and countenance different from all the other race of mankind) though Profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piouſly obedient to the Duke of *Moſcovie* their lawful Prince.

But the *Pzecopentian Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodoſia*, now *Caſa*, and the *Nagaentian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Palus Meotis* between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanais*, are the people which may be accounted amongſt the Subjects, or at leaſt Confederates of this Empire: though only the City of *Caſa* of all thoſe Dominions, is immediately in Poſſeſ-

ſion and Goyernment of the *Turk*, which in my opinion appears to be a cautionary Town and Pledge for their obedience; and though the *Han* or Prince of that Country is elective, yet he is choſen out of the true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a power to depoſe the Father, and in his place conſtitute the Son or next of that Linage when found remiſs in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of any diſ-reſpect or want of duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This preſent *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirei* (for that is the Sirname of his Family) remained during the life of his Father (according to the cuſtom of the Eldeſt Son of this Prince) a hoſtage to the *Turk* in *Janboli* a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey diſtant from *Adrianople*, ſituated on the *Euxine* or black Sea; but from thence upon jealouſie of too near a vicinity to his own Country, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he paſſed an obſcure and melancholy life until the death of his Father, and then being recalled to *Conſtantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, ſwore fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other formalities performed according to their cuſtom of Regal Inauguration: But being ſetled in his Kingdom and mindful of his ſufferings at *Rhodes*, he had ever ſtomached the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperour, by which, and the diſſwaſion of the *Polonians*, and the other neighbouring *Tartars*, as a thing diſhonourable to ſo ancient and powerful a people, to reſign the heir of their Kingdom a hoſtage to their neighbours; this preſent Prince hath refuſed this part of ſubjection which the Viſier *Kupriuli* often complained of; but not being in a condition to afford a remedy unto, thought it prudence to diſſemble.

But yet theſe people are eſteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the *Turk*, to whom for want of heirs-male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient compact to deſcend; the expectation of which though afar off, and but almoſt imaginary, doth yet conſerve the *Tartar* in as much obſervance to the *Turk*, as the hopes of an Eſtate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obſequiouſneſs with the petulant humor of a Father that adopts him, who is reſolved never to want heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as other ſubjects; and though the *Turk* exerciſes not his power there by commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his buſineſs by way of Letters; yet theſe Letters ſerve in the place of Warrants, for the ſignification of the Grand Signiors pleaſure, and are as available as the * Autogra, and other formalities of the Imperial Edict, are in other places (in ſubjection to the *Turk*.)

* The great Character of the Emperors name affixed at the top of every Command.

By ancient compact between this Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whenſoever the Grand Signior goes in perſon to the Wars; the *Tartar Han* is to accompany him in perſon with an Army of a hundred thouſand men, but if the Viſier or ſome other General be in the Field, then is he only obliged to ſend forty or fifty thouſand under the command of his Son, or ſome principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the booty and pillage they acquire. In the year 1663. the *Tartar* called on occaſion of the War in *Hungary* to the aſſiſtance of the *Turk*, they made ſuch incurſions into that Country, *Moravia*, and *Sileſia*, ſacking and burning all Cities and Towns, that they carried away one hundred and ſixty thou-

thouſand captive ſouls in one year; which preciſe number I am informed from thoſe who had received good information of the Pengik or Certificates that were given upon every head; for the *Tartar* being an abſolute free-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his power; and leſt he ſhould prey on the ſubjects of the *Turk*, they are bound to take out atteſtations from certain Regiſters, of the Names, Countries and Age of their Captives, leſt they ſhould deceive the *Turk* with the ſale of thoſe, who are already their own ſubjects and ſlaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk*, as the *Giacall* to the *Lion*, who hunts and finds the prey for the *Lion* to overcome and feed on: And ſo the *Tartar* makes incurſions into the neighbouring Countries round about, and paſs in great bodies ſometimes ten or twelve dayes without doing the leaſt dammage or ſpoil in their journey outward; but as ſoon as they turn their faces home, they rob, ſpoil, burn and carry all the Inhabitants of what Age or Sex ſoever, like a torrent before them; and every one of them leading three or four Horſes a piece, on which they mount their Captives and load their prey, make a running march day and night with few hours intermiſſion for natural repoſe, too faſt for any orderly Army to overtake; and any other, that is not ſo, is not able to give them battel. Such of their ſlaves as in the journey are wounded and infirme, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill; thoſe which they bring ſafe into their own Country they ſell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandize, which is the moſt profitable commoditie that *Tartary* affords. Young Boyes and Girls are rated at the higheſt price, the latter of which being beautiful are like Jewels held at an unknown value; but few of them eſcape the luſt of the *Tartars*, who deflower them even in the years of their very infancy. This ſort of people were by the ancients called *Sermati*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horſe-back, but heavy and ignorant of foot ſervice; which Character *Tacitus* gives of them, *Lib.* 1. *Hiſt. Omnis Sermatum virtus quaſi extra ipſos, nihil ad pedeſtrem pugnam, tam ignavum ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obſtiterit, iners videtur ſudore acquirere, quod poſſis ſanguine purare, mirâ diverſitate naturæ cum ijdem homines ſic ament inertiam, & oderint quietem*: They live very hardly, and feed eſpecially on horſe-fleſh, which dying in their march, they never examine his diſeaſes, whether ſurfeited or overheated; but diſtributing his fleſh amongſt their Companions, placed it under their Sadles: and thus baked between the heat of the man and the horſe, chafed with that days labour, is at night judged ſufficiently prepared, as a diſh fit for the Table of their Prince.

And as the men are nouriſhed with a Diet of raw fleſh, herbs and roots, or ſuch as the Earth naturally produces without the concoction of the Fire to prepare it for their ſtomachs; ſo alſo their Horſes are of a hardy temperament, patient of hunger and cold, and in the ſharp Winter of thoſe Countries, when the ground is covered with Snow, nouriſh themſelves with the Barks of Trees, and ſuch herbage as they can find at the bottom of the deep Snow. Their Towns or Villages conſiſt of huts rather then houſes, or hurdles made of ſticks and covered with a courſe hair Cloth; of which Villages there are accounted two hundred thouſand, ſo that taking one man out of every Village (as their cuſtom is when they go to the War) they ſpeedily form an Army

of two hundred thouſand fighting men. But now having carryed great riches out of *Poland*, and gained a conſiderable wealth by the Market of their ſlaves, ſome of them throw off their homely Plads to wear Sables, and ſome more frugal, employ their money for building Houſes; the riotous and diſſolute are addicted to ſtrong Waters, and a drink called *Boza* made of a certain ſeed (which drank in a great quantity doth intoxicate, and is now much in uſe among the *Turks*) and give themſelves up to a gluttony, as brutiſh as that which is natural unto Swine, having no art of ſauces to provoke their appetite, but reſt delighted with the meer contentment of idleneſs and a full ſtomach.

But this ſhall be ſufficient to have ſpoken of the relation the *Tartars* have to the government of the *Turk*, and their ſubjection to this Empire, their cuſtoms and manners being more amply and fully deſcribed in other books.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Signior, *viz.* Moldavians, Valachians, Tranſilvanians, Raguſcans, *&c.*

THe power and puiſſance of an Empire is not more judged of by the many governors, the rich offices it can diſpoſe of, the multitude of Provinces it contains in obedience, and the neceſſity it can impoſe on other Princes to ſeek its confederacy (which we have already treated of) then it is by the many tributaries which to redeem the remainder of their worldly goods, willingly ſacrifice the beſt part to appeaſe his fury, in whoſe power it is to maſter all: and ſo theſe diſtreſſed Nations, long wearyed-out with tedious Wars, oppreſſed between the Emperour of *Germany*, the *Polander*, and the *Turk*, and more damaged by their own civil diſſentions and domeſtick perfidiouſneſs, then vanquiſhed by the force of Arms, were forced at laſt to ſurrender up their fruitleſs Provinces to the devotion of the *Turk*, which are now haraſſed and oppreſſed beyond all expreſſion, and are the meereſt ſlaves to the *Turk* of all other his ſubjects; and may well be compared to the induſtrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he cares for and maintains alive for the ſake of their Honey, and the intereſt of their Wool; and as if all this were too little, when it ſhall ſo be thought fit, he opens the gate to the incurſions of the *Tartar*, who having gained a conſiderable booty of goods and captives, ſells to the *Turks* for ſlaves, thoſe which were before his ſubjects. Theſe three poor Provinces formerly called the *Daci*, which withſtood ſo long the *Roman* Arms, were alwayes eſteemed a Valiant and Warlike people, according to that of *Virgil*, lib. 8. *Æn.*

Indomitiq; Dacæ, & pontem Indignatus Araxes.
& Juvenal. Sat. 5.

Dacius & ſcripto radiat Germanicus antro.

Which

Which Countries have been the Graves and Cemeteries of the *Turks*, and in theſe modern times been the ſtage on which ſo many Tragedies of War have been acted, being defended with as much valour and variety of ſucceſſes, as could humanely be expected in ſo unequal a Match as was between thoſe Provinces ſingly, and the *Ottoman* Empire. But now at laſt they are forced to yield, and become not only tributaries, but ſlaves and ſubjects to the *Turk*; who having deprived them of the true line of their natural Princes ſucceeding in a lawful inheritance, place over them ſome Chriſtians of the Greek Church, without conſideration of their conditions or riches, or qualifications; nay rather chooſe to give the Standart (which is the ſign of the Grand Signiors confirmation of the Prince) to ſome inferior Perſon, as Taverners, Fiſh-mongers, or other meaner profeſſions purpoſely to diſparage the people with the baſeneſs of their Governors, and expoſe them to the oppreſſions of men of no worth or dexterity in their office. It hath ſeveral times been under the conſideration of the *Turks*, at length to reduce theſe three Provinces to the command of ſo many *Paſhaws*, contrary to the original Capitulations agreed on at the time that theſe people firſt ſubmitted to the *Ottoman* yoke: but as yet it hath been carried to the contrary, as more profitable and better ſerving the ends of the Empire; for hereby Chriſtians become the inſtruments of torment to their own Brethren; Out-rages and Spoils may be the more boldly acted; more Turkiſh Officers employed on every ſlight occaſion on gainful meſſages, and the people by long oppreſſions living under the juriſdiction of a Prince, who can rather ſpoil then protect, may be reconciled more willingly to the Turkiſh Government, and learn to value the gentleneſs and power of a *Paſhaw*, compared with the remembrance of their former aggrievances. But of this government they will rather let them imagine the eaſe and ſweetneſs then injoy it; for were a *Paſhaw* the Governor, the power of a *Turk* would be concerned for their protection, he would eſteem himſelf their Patron, and his honour engaged in their defence, by which means theſe Countries would be relieved in a great meaſure of extortions and violences, which is not ſo beneficial to the *Turk*, as the preſent miſerable eſtate in which they re main.

Moldavia called by the *Turks Bugdan*, was firſt made tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomet* the great, but under the ſmall tribute of 2000 Crowns *per annum*; afterwards *Bogdanus Vayvod* thereof, *anno* 1485. fearing to become abſolute Vaſſal to the *Turk*, taking to his aſſociation the Kingdom of *Poland*, took up Arms againſt *Selymus* the ſecond, by whom being drawn out from his Country, *John* a *Moldavian* born, but one who had embraced the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principality; but no ſooner was he ſetled therein but he returned to his former Religion, for which cauſe the *Turk* taking into his aſſiſtance the Province of *Valachia*, made War upon *Moldavia*; but *John* the *Vayvod* by trechery loſing his life, this Province fell totally into the power of the *Turk*, and was united to his Empire in the year 1574. The tribute in thoſe days of this Province is recorded in the *Turkiſh Hiſtory* to have been 40000 *Zechins* or 80000 Dollars; but now whatſoever may be reported, the tribute of theſe Countries is, or was, the Reader may take this following account for what is the certainly paid

The word *Vayvod* ſignifies as much as *præfectus Militiæ*, or the General of an Army.

Moldavia.

paid, being related to me from one who had for many years been employed for *Vayvod* both in *Moldavia* and *Valachia* by the *Turk*, *viz.* the yearly tribute of *Moldavia* is,

Its annual tribute.

1. To the Grand Signior 120 purſes of money; each purſe containing 500 Dollars, makes 60000 Dollars.

2. Ten thouſand Okes of Wax, each Oke being two pounds and a half *Engliſh* weight.

3. Ten thouſand Okes of Honey.

4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the *Arſenal.*

5. Five hundred Oxe Hides.

6. Five hundred pieces of Canvas for Cloathing, and Shirts for the ſlaves, and other ſervices for the Gallies.

7. 1330 Okes of Wax for the ſervice of the *Arſenal.*

8. To the chief Viſier ten Purſes of money or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Furre for a Veſt.

9. To the Viſiers *Kahija* or chief Steward, one Purſe or 500 Dollars.

10. To the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer the ſame, as to the *Kahija.*

This is the ordinary and annual tribute this Country acknowledges to the ſupremacy of the *Sultan*; and it were well and happy for this people were it all; but there are ſo many accidental expences, pretenſions and artifices of the *Turks*, framed and contrived meſſages meerly to extract money and preſents from this oppreſſed and haraſſed people, as do more then equal, and ſometimes double the charge of their yearly tribute. To which you may adde the price paid for the Principality, which is every three years ſet to ſale, and is

To the Grand Signior 150 Purſes, or 75000 Dollars.

To the *Valede* or Queen Mother 50 Purſes, or 25000 Dollars.

The price of the Principality.

To the Grand Signiors Favourite, who is commonly ſome handſome young youth, ten Purſes, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kuſlir Aga* or chief Black Eunuch, who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the *Seraglio*, ten Purſes of money.

And laſtly, to the prime Viſier and other Officers, for as much as they can beat their bargain. All which money is taken up at Intereſt of 40 or 50 *per cent.* ſometimes on condition to be doubled; and this is done by men who having no Eſtates of their own, the debt becomes to be charged on the Country, which is pillaged and poled for it to the very bones, firſt to ſatisfie the price of the Principality with the Intereſt-money for what it was valued, then to pay the annual tribute, then to ſatisfie the multitude of covetous *Turks*, who like ſo many Vultures purſue after the Skeliton of this conſumed Carkaſs: And laſtly, the Prince himſelf muſt take his accounts, and take his Meaſures to be capable for the future, after he hath laid aſide the Ornament of his Office, to live in ſome proportion agreeable to his paſt condition; and this is neither done moderately nor modeſtly, but with a covetouſneſs and greedy appetite, commonly incident to the nature of men born of mean Parentage and educated with the parſimony of a ſcanty houſe; who alſo thereunto adde many grains of allowance to the limits of their gains, in conſideration of the yearly Gratuities they muſt make to reconcile the Friendſhip of the chief Turkiſh Miniſters, whereby they may enjoy protection for their Perſons and Eſtates.

The

The ſtate and condition of the Province of *Walachia* is not better, but rather worſe, and more afflicted then that of *Moldavia*; for this Country being now equally with the former in the ſole and entire diſpoſal and poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, to whom it became firſt tributary under their own Princes in the time of *Sultan Bajazet*: Afterward in the year 1462. *Mahomet* the Great undertook the entire Conqueſt of it, then governed by its *Vayvod Wladus*, whoſe younger Brother ſupported by the *Turk*, and a factious party in that Country, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Principality, contenting himſelf to be Vaſſal to the Turkiſh Empire; afterwards in the year 1595. *Michael* the *Vayvod* thereof joining himſelf with *Sigiſmond* of *Tranſilvania*, and with the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* waged a long and terrible War againſt the *Turks*, until revolutions, unquietneſs, and factions have ſo ſpent them as that they are at length become another addition to the Empire of the *Turks*, who now impoſe on them a heavy yoke and a ſtrait curb, not to be imputed to any thing more then to Divine Juſtice, which takes occaſion to exerciſe a hand of ſeverity againſt the unſeaſonable negligence, ſedition and variance of Chriſtians amongſt themſelves, at a time when the common enemy to their profeſſion attended only the opportunity of their own diſſentions, to enter and devour them.

The tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signior, was formerly 120 Purſes of money, or 60000 Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*, and had ſo ſtill continued had not lately *Matthew* the *Vayvod* about the year 1655. grown rich, and therefore forgetful of his condition (having by friends and large preſents at the Port, procured a continuation of his Office for the ſpace of nineteen or twenty years) rebelled againſt the *Turk*, taking falſe meaſures of his wealth and power as able to encounter the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; but being ſoon put to the worſt and forced to yield, his life was ſpared, and the ſafety of his Country redeemed upon the augmentation of their tribute; ſo that now, that which was yearly paid being 120 Purſes of mony,

1. Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purſes, or one hundred and thirty thouſand Dollars.
2. There is paid 15000 Okes of Honey.
3. 9000 Okes of Wax.
4. To the Prime Viſier ten Purſes of money, or 5000 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.
5. To the *Tefterdar* or Lord Treaſurer one Purſe of money, or 500 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.
6. To the *Kuſſir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Aſpers.
7. To the Viſiers *Kahija* or Steward five hundred Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

Every Oke is two pounds and a half Engliſh.

The other charges and value ſet on this Province when triennially ſold, is not leſs then that of *Moldavia*; the method and arts uſed for extorting money from thence are the ſame, the oppreſſion in every point equal, unleſs the remembrance of the extravagant diſorder of *Matthew* the *Vayvod* ſtill kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk* with more confident pretences to work more deſolation and impoveriſhment in this Province. Now lately a Prince was ſetled there by order of the Grand Signior, in the year 1664. called *Stridia Bei* by the Greeks, which

which ſignifies a Lord that had gained ſome fortune from ſelling Oyſters and Fiſh; this perſon ſucceeded *Gregoraſco* the late Prince, who fearing the anger of the Prime Vifier for returning home with his Army without licence, defeated by General *Suſa* near *Lewa*, fled for ſafety of his life into the Dominions of the Emperour: The *Turks* who always avenge the crimes of the Governors on the people, or of the ſubjects on the Governors, raiſed the price of the Principality to a higher value, cauſing *Stridia Bei* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any rate) to pay for it 800 Purſes of money, or four hundred thouſand Dollars; to which being added the intereſt before mentioned, the ſum may eaſily be computed that this new *Vayvod* engulfed himſelf in; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad hearts and bleſſings the people of that Country went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Tranſilvania* wholly exempted from the oppreſſion of the *Turk*; for after ſeveral revolutions from the time of *Huniades* made *Vayvod* by *Vladiſlaus* the fourth King of *Hungary*, *Anno* 1450, a great defender of his Country againſt the Infidels, until the time of *Stephen* the ſeventh, ſirnamed *Ragotzki*, Patronized by the *Turks*, *Anno* 1630. This Principality remained ſometimes at the devotion and diſpoſal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperour, and ſometime of the *Turk*; until by the growing greatneſs of the *Ottomans*, the *Turks* became Maſters of the beſt part of this Country. But yet *Tranſilvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated then the other two Provinces, their tribute being much leſs, and their Princes choſen for the moſt part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at leaſt from the honourable houſes of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true blood of the former *Vayvods*. Their ancient tribute was only 6000 *Zechins* yearly, but afterwards were added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Caſtles which *Ragotzki* had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk* demanding to have reſigned into his poſſeſſion, were for that ſum redeemed, and ſtill detained in the hands of the *Tranſilvanians*; over and above which they only pay 300 Dollars and two ſilver Bowls to the ſeven Viſiers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonſtrates more reſpect always to this Prince and his Meſſages, then thoſe of the neighbour Provinces, by reaſon that that Country is not totally in his power (certain ſtrong fortreſſes being in the hand of the Emperour of *Germany*) for whoſe ſake this people is more gently dealt with, leſt too much ſeverity ſhould occaſion them to revolt; And this conſideration induced the *Turks* to treat modeſtly with *Michael Apaſi* the Prince of this Country in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by truſting much to his conduct, by uſing him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to poſſeſs *Zekelhyd* after its voluntary ſurrender in a Mutiny, without the controulment or ſuperintendency of a *Turk* as his Superior; and for his farther encouragement gave out, that when the *Sultan* had totally ſubdued *Hungary*, thoſe parts which were not ſubject to *Paſhaws*, ſhould be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

Theſe Princes of the three foregoing Provinces are farther obliged to ſerve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whenſoever ſummoned thereunto;

but

but with what number, and in what manner, we reſerve for its due place in the Treatiſe of the *Turks* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and ſmall Dominion of *Raguſi*, is alſo another tributary to the *Turk*; which is a petty Common-wealth, not vouchſafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians* nor the *Pope*, and only ſtyled *la communità di Raguſi*, which is a Town in *Dalmatia*, commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the ſpace of above 150 miles extends it ſelf along the Sea-coaſt, and ſome little Iſlands of no great conſideration: It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponeſus*) but that being raſed by the *Gothes*, the Inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Raguſi*, giving it a new name as well as a new foundation. The government of it in the nature of a Common-wealth is more ancient then that of *Venice*, having preſerved it ſelf more by art and ſubmiſſion to ſome powerful Protector, then to its own force; which cauſed them to court the friendſhip of the *Turk*, before he was Maſter of any part of *Europe*; and as their Records report, it was upon the advice of a Holy Nun, eſteemed a great Saint amongſt them; who prophecying of the future greatneſs of the Turkiſh Empire, aſſured them that the only means to preſerve for many Ages their Common-wealth free and happy, was to ſubmit themſelves to one of the moſt proſperous of Princes, to whoſe Dominion the beſt part of the world ſhould be ſubdued: Whereupon two Embaſſadors were diſpeeded to the City of *Pruſa* (then the Regal Seat, before the utter ruine of the *Grecian* Empire) with preſents to the *Sultan Orchanes*, deſiring to become his tributaries, and in conſideration thereof to ſtrengthen their weak Common-wealth with aſſiſtance, under the ſhadow of his prevalent protection. There is no doubt, but the *Sultan* then received them the more courteouſly, and promiſed the maintenance of a former League, by how much the diſtance they were at as yet, gave them the leſs cauſe to fear his arms; wherefore the tribute being agreed on of twelve thouſand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned home with all demonſtrations of courteſie, and aſſurances of defence: *Orchanes* entred into Articles with them, beſtowed on them a grant of all the immunities and priviledges they deſired, the which he ſigned with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal in thoſe days, and is now reverenced amongſt the *Turks* with the ſame eſteem, as the Jews do the Tables of *Moſes*, or we the moſt ſacred and holy reliques; ever ſince that time this tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the Moneth of *July* by two Embaſſadors, who reſide at the Turkiſh Court for the ſpace of a year, the former returning home; theſe are relieved at the ſame ſeaſon of the following year, by the acceſſion of two others with the like tribute; which with the preſents they alſo bring to the Prime Viſier, the chief Eunuch of the Women, the Queen-Mother and other *Sultans*, with the charges and expence of the Embaſſie, is computed to amount yearly to the ſum of twenty thouſand *Zechins*.

They were in times paſt, before the War between the Republick of *Venice* and the *Turk*, very poor, and put to hard ſhifts and arts to raiſe the Turkiſh tribute; but this War hath opened their ſcale, and made it the Port for tranſmitting the Manufactures of *Venice* and all *Italy*

into *Turky*, which yields them ſuch conſiderable cuſtoms, as thereby their tribute is ſupplyed with advance, and their other neceſſities provided for: So that now the old Ornaments of the Embaſſadors, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimſon Satten, liued heretofore with *Martins* Fur, but now with Sables; are not layed up in the common Wardrobe for the Embaſſadors of the ſucceeding year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly ſupplyed at the common charge: and thus they paſs honeſtly and in good eſteem at the *Ottoman* Court, being called the *Dowbrai Venedick* by the *Turks*, or the good *Venetian*.

This petty Republick hath always ſupported it ſelf by ſubmiſſion, and addreſſes for favour and defence to divers powerful Princes, courting the favour of every one, never offering injuries, and when they receive them patiently ſupport them; which is the cauſe the *Italians* call them *le ſette bandiere*, or the ſeven Bahners, ſignifying that for their being and maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become ſlaves to all parts of the world. And it is obſervable on what a ſtrange form of jealous policie their Government is founded; for their chief officer who is in imitation of the Doge at *Venice*, is changed every moneth, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Caſtle of the City, is but of twenty four hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governour, who is without any preparation or ceremony taken up as he walks the ſtreets, having a handkerchief thrown over his face, is led away blindfold to the Caſtle, ſo as none can diſcover who it is that commands that night; and by that means all poſſibility of conſpiracy or combination of betraying the Town prevented. Theſe people in former times were great Traders into the Weſtern parts of the world; and it is ſaid, that thoſe vaſt *Carracks* called *Argoſies*, which are ſo much famed for the vaſtneſs of their burthen and bulk, were corruptly ſo denominated from *Ragoſies*, and from the name of this City, whoſe Port is forced rather by Art and induſtry, then framed by nature.

The tributaries of *Georgia* and *Mengrelia*.

Some of the Provinces alſo of *Georgia*, formerly *Iberia*, but now ſuppoſed to be called from St. *George* the *Cappadocian* Martyr, and the poor Country of *Mengrelia*, are alſo tributaries to the *Turk*, who every three years ſend meſſengers with their ſacrifice to the Grand Signior of ſeven young Boyes, and as many Virgins a piece, beſides other ſlaves for Preſents to great men: this people chuſe rather this ſort of tribute then any other, becauſe cuſtom hath introduced a forwardneſs in the Parents without remorſe to ſell their Children, and to account ſlavery a preferment, and the miſeries of a ſervitude a better condition then Poverty with freedom; of the whole retinue which theſe beggerly Embaſſadors bring with them (for ſo the *Turks* called them) being about ſeventy or eighty perſons, a crue of miſerable people are all ſet to ſale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the charge of the Embaſſy, and bring back ſome Revenue to the publick Stock; ſo that the Embaſſadors return without their Pomp, reſerving only the Interpreter as a neceſſary attendant to their voyage home.

The Emperour of *Germany* may alſo not improperly be termed one of the tributaries to the *Ottoman* Empire (whom for honour ſake we mention in the laſt place in ſo ungrateful an office) being obliged accordingly

cording to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent to pay a yearly tribute of 3000 *Hungars*, but it was onely paid the firſt two years after the concluſion of the Peace; afterward it was excuſed by the *Germans*, and diſſembled by the *Turks*; until taking a reſolution to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one ground and occaſion of the breach: for upon the truce made for eight years between *Sultan Solyman* and the Emperour *Ferdinand*, as *Augerius Busbeck* reports in thoſe Capitulations, that the tribute is made the foundation of the accord. *Cujus concordiæ, pacis, ac confœderationis hæ conditiones ſunto primò, ut tua dilectio quotannis ad aulam noſtram pro arra induciarum* 30000 *Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, unà cum reſiduo, quod nobis per proximè præterlapſum biennium reſervetur.*

CHAP. XV.

The Deſolation and Ruine which the Turks *make of their own Countries in* Aſia, *and the parts moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, eſteemed one cauſe of the conſervation of their Empire.*

THis poſition will appear a Paradox at firſt ſight to moſt men who have read and conſider'd the *Roman* Conqueſt, whoſe juriſdiction and Dominions were far larger then this preſent Empire; and yet we do not find that they ſo ſtudiouſly endeavoured to diſpeople, and lay waſte the Nations they ſubdued; but rather encouraged induſtry in Plantations, gave priviledges to Cities meanly ſtored, invited people to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivate with good Huſbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffick and Commerce; made Citizens of their confederates, and conferred on their conquered ſubjects oftentimes greater benefits then they could expect or hope for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived and were richer and more powerful by their policy; and therefore why the *Turk* might not proceed in the ſame manner, and yet with the ſame advantage, is worth our conſideration.

For the ſolution of which difficulty, it will be neceſſary to conſider that theſe two Empires being compared, there will be found a vaſt difference in the original, foundation, progreſs and maximes each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in peace, made Laws by which the arbitrary will of the Prince was corrected; and afterward as their Arms ſucceeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themſelves often to preſent neceſſities and humours, and conſtitutions of the people they had conquered, and accordingly made proviſion, and uſed proper Arts to keep them in obedience; and next, by their generoſity and wiſdom won thoſe Nations to admire and imitate their vertues, and to be contented in their ſubjection. But the *Turks* have but one ſole means to maintain their Countries, which is the ſame by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the ſword in the moſt rigorous way of execution, by killing, conſuming and laying

deſolate the Countries, and tranſplanting the people unto parts where they are neareſt under the command and age of a Governour; being wholly deſtitute and ignorant of other refined Arts, which more civilized Nations have in part made ſerve in the place of violence. And yet the *Turks* have made this courſe alone anſwer to all the intents and ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny then Gentleneſs, it is neceſſary, that courſes ſhould be taken whereby theſe people may remain more within compaſs and reach of Authority; which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire ſo well inhabited as to afford entertainment within the Fortifications of its vaſt Mountains and Woods, to the many unquiet and diſcontented ſpirits that live in it. And this may be one cauſe, that ſo rarely Rebellions ariſe amongſt the *Turks*, though in the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*; and when they do, are eaſily ſuppreſſed: This alſo is one cauſe, why Great men ſo eaſily reſign themſelves up to the will of the Grand Signior to puniſhment and death, whether the ſentence be according to Law, or only Arbitrary: this is the reaſon that fugitives and homicides cannot eſcape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities which are immediately under the eye of a vigilant Commander will afford them refuge, nor can the deſolate Countries entertain them; and Chriſtendom is ſo abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their Sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of ſafety, they wholly attend to pleaſe and ſerve their Great Maſter, in whoſe favour and hands alone is the reward and puniſhment.

Another advantage, and that not inconſiderable, that this manner of diſpeopling the Country brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an enemy would find in their March, ſhould they with a Land-Army attempt to penetrate far into the Country; for without great quantities of Proviſion they could not poſſibly be ſuſtained; from the Country none can be expected; what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and leave all places as naked and barren of Food for man, as the Sea it ſelf.

And though it is known often, that in *Aſia* the Troops of ſome diſcontented *Bei* or *Aga*, to the number of three or four hundred men, in the Summer-time having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, aſſault *Caravans*, and rob all Paſſengers from whom there is any hope of booty; yet in the Winter they are diſperſed, becauſe they have no Quarters againſt the weather, nor Proviſions for humane ſuſtenance, every one ſhifting for himſelf in ſome place where his condition is the leaſt known or ſuſpected.

And it may not be here from our purpoſe to admoniſh the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their policy, to lay a conſiderable part of their Empire deſolate; ſo on the contrary, they obſerve in their new Conqueſts to fortifie, ſtrengthen and confirm what they have gained, by numbers of people, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any conſiderable Country to their ſubjection, they commonly are inclined to make peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, ſo as to have time to ſetle and ſecure their new Conqueſts; for Countries over-run in haſte, are almoſt as ſpeedily again recovered, and are like tempeſts and ſudden ſtorms,

which

which are the ſooner diſperſed for being violent. *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who was a wiſe and judicious Prince, conſidering the extent of the *Roman* Empire, wrote a Book, ſaith *Tacitus*, which was publiſhed after his death, wherein he deſcribed the publick Revenue, the number of Citizens and Confederates liſted for the War, the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Cuſtoms, *&c. Addideratq; inſuper Conſilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum*, ſaith that Author, *Metu, an per invidiam*; which doubtleſs this wiſe Emperour meant of a moderate, and not a precipitate progreſs of their Arms, as well as of preſcribing fixed limits to the ultimate confines of the Empire, beyond which a Statute ſhould be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithſtanding the moſt promiſing deſigns and incitements that could offer. *Tac. Lib. 1. Annal.*

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary ſucceſſion in Government, as alſo the preſervation of an ancient Nobility, againſt the Maxims of the Turkiſh Politie.

HAving formerly entred into diſcourſe of the ſeveral great Officers of State, it will be neceſſary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preſerve the body of their Empire free of Faction and Rebellion; for there being many Provinces in the *Sultans* gift, which are remote, rich and powerful, and ſo adminiſter temptation to the Governours to throw off the yoke of their dependence, and make themſelves and their Poſterity abſolute; great care is taken to prevent this miſchief by ſeveral Arts, none of which hath been more effectual amongſt the *Turks*, nor more ſedulouſly practiſed, then the deſtruction of an ancient Nobility; and admitting no ſucceſſion to Offices or Riches, but only in the direct *Ottoman* Line, as my Lord *Verulam* ſays, *Eſſay* 14. *A Monarchy where there is no Nobility at all, is ever pure and abſolute Tyranny, as that of the* Turks; *for Nobility attempers Soveraignty, and draws the people ſomewhat aſide from the Line Royal.* By which means it comes to paſs, that *Paſhaws* education in the *Seraglio* (in the manner as we have ſaid before) without knowledge of their blood or family, and without the ſupport of powerful alations or dependences, being ſent abroad to foreign Governments, where they continue but for a ſhort ſeaſon, have no opportunity or poſſibility of advancing any intereſt of their own above that of the *Sultan*. And though ſome have out of an aſpiring and ambitious ſpirit, aſſumed a blind confidence of renting away part of the Empire; as *Aſan Aga Paſhaw* of *Aleppo* of late years, with a ſtrong and powerful Army marched as far as *Scutari*, threatning the Imperial City; and the *Turkiſh Hiſtory* tells us of the revolt of ſeveral *Paſhaws*; yet all theſe Rebellions have been but of ſhort durance; the Grand Signior never deſigning by open force and dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own Slaves, but only by ſome ſecret plot and ſtratagem, getting the head of the Rebel, he is aſſured of the Victory without other hazard or diſpute of War: for immediately thereupon the whole Army diſperſes, and every one ſhifts by flight to ſave himſelf from

from the *Sultans* anger; nor is it imaginable it can be otherwiſe; for theſe men are but ſtrangers and foreigners in the Countries they ruled, have no relations there or kindred to ſecond or revenge their quarrel, have no ancient blood or poſſeſſions which might entitle their heirs to the ſucceſſion, or out of affection or pity move their Subjects to intereſt themſelves in their behalf; but being cut off themſelves, all falls with them, which affords the ſtrangeſt ſpectacle, and example of fortunes unconſtancy in the world; for a *Turk* is never reverenced but for his office, that is made the ſole meaſure and rule of his greatneſs and honour, without other conſiderations of Vertue or Nobility. And this is the reaſon the *Turks* value not their great men when taken by the Enemy; for not otherwiſe looking on them then on ordinary Souldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and perſons of Quality on the Chriſtians party; for the favour of the *Sultan* makes the *Paſhaw*, and not noble blood or vertues; ſo that the *Paſhaw* impriſoned loſing the influence of his Soveraigns protection and greatneſs, loſes that alſo which rendred him noble and conſiderable above other perſons.

There are notwithſtanding ſome *Paſhaws* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themſelves, through ſome ancient grace and priviledge from the *Sultan*, an hereditary ſucceſſion in their Government, and as I can learn, thoſe are only the *Paſhaws* of *Gaza*, *Cordiſtan*, and three *Sangiacks* formerly mentioned under the *Paſhaw* of *Damaſcus* and *Matick*, and *Turcman* under the *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*. And ſince I have mentioned the *Paſhaw* of *Gaza*, it will be but requiſite to recall to mind the memory of one lately of that place with much honour and reverence, being one whoſe actions and devotion to the Chriſtian worſhip, might conclude him not far from *the Kingdom of God*: for beſides his favourable inclination in general, to all who profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith; he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jeruſalem*, to whom he often made Preſents, as proviſions of Rice and other ſupplies for their Monaſtery; and when once the *Father Guardian of the holy Sepulchre* came to make him a Viſit, with great reſpect and reverence, he met him at a good diſtance from his houſe, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* uſually beſtow on any, who profeſs other then the *Mahometane* faith: and might deſerve the Character that *Tacitus* gives of *L. Voluſius*, that he was *Egregia fama, cui Septaginta quinque anni ſpatium vivendi, præcipuæque opes bonis artibus, inoffenſa tot Imperatorum malitia fuit.* And yet this good man having for ſeventy five years lived innocently in that Government, and received the inheritance from his Father, was by promiſe of fair treatment allured to the Port, where without farther proceſs or any accuſation, his hoary head was ſevered from his body, for no other reaſon, then leſt the permiſſion and indulgence to this long continuance and ſucceſſion in office, ſhould prove too ample a deviation from the rules of the *Turkiſh Politie.*

And that all means of attaining ancient riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off; the *Turk* obſerves this Maxim of *Machiavel*, *à reprimere la inſolenſa di uno, non vie piu ſicuro; emeno ſcandoloſo modo, che preoccupargli quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza*: and ſo the Grand Signior ſuffers no poſſibility of arriving to ancient

ancient wealth; for as Eldeſt Brother to great men he makes ſeiſure of the Eſtates of all *Paſhaws* that die, who having Children, ſuch part is beſtowed on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior ſhall think fit and requiſite: If a *Paſhaw* dies that is marryed to a *Soltana*, which is the Grand Signiors Siſter, Daughter, or other near relation, her Kabin or Dowry is firſt deducted from the Eſtate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the *Sultan*, as heir to the reſt; and by this means all ancient Nobility is ſuppreſſed, and you ſhall find the Daughters of ancient Greek Houſes eſpouſed to Shepherds and Carters, and the ancient Reliques of the noble Families of *Catacuzeno* and *Paleoligi*, living more contemptuouſly at *Conſtantinople*, then ever *Dionyſius* did at *Corinth*.

But not only in *Paſhaws* and great men is care taken to clip their wings, which may hinder them from ſoaring too high, but alſo in the *Ottoman* Family it ſelf greater ſeverity and ſtrictneſs is exerciſed then in others, to keep them from growing great in offices or wealth, whereby to have poſſibility of aſpiring to the Supream power; and therefore by the original and Fundamental Laws of *Turks*, the Children of a *Soltana* marryed to a *Paſhaw* are not capable of any office in the Empire, and at moſt cannot riſe higher, then to be in the quality of a *Capugibaſhee*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signiors Gate. They that are of this race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contumacioufneſs and almoſt Treaſon to name it; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongſt the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or eſteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Han Ogleri*, or the offſpring of *Sultan Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signiors Siſter, and marryed to a *Soltana* (and are ſaid to be of the race of the *Tartars*) ſo that proceeding by the Womans ſide only, the leſs notice is taken of their bloud: their Rent or Revenue yearly is about 70000 Dollars, *Quibus magnæ opes, innocenter partæ, & modeſte habitæ*, which they manage with prudence and diſcretion, live honourably without oſtentation, ſeek no office, or intermeddle in the affairs of State; by which means they hitherto have preſerved themſelves from envy and ſuſpition in the revolutions of the *Turkiſh* Government.

The Grand Signior many times when he fears the greatneſs of any *Paſhaw*, under colour and pretence of honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Siſter, or ſome other of his Feminine kindred; by which means, inſtead of increaſe of power and glory, he becomes the miſerableſt ſlave in the world to the Tyranny and Pride of an inſulting Woman: For firſt he cannot refuſe the honour, leſt he ſhould ſeem to neglect and contemn the *Sultans* favour; then before the Eſpouſals, he muſt reſolve to continue conſtant to her alone, and not ſuffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves or diſtractions of his love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whoſe long converſation and Children ſhe hath brought him, have endeared his affections too far to be forgotten; he muſt yet baniſh her and all other relations from his home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Sultana*: Before the Eſpouſals, what Money, Jewels or rich Furs ſhe ſends for, he muſt with complement and chearfulneſs preſent, which is called *Aghirlick*; beſides this, he makes her a Dowry called Kabin, of as much as friends that make the match can agree; when the Kabin is concluded and paſſed before the Juſtice

The Marriage of a *Paſhaw* with a *Soltana*.

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in form or nature of a recogniſance; the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his Bride by a Black Eunuch, at whoſe entrance the cuſtom is, for the *Soltana* to draw her Dagger, and imperiouſly to demand the reaſon of his bold acceſs, which he with much ſubmiſſion replies to, and ſhews the *Emmeri Podeſhaw*, or the Imperial Firme for his Marriage; the *Soltana* then ariſes, and with more kindneſs admits him to a nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Slippers and lays them over the Door (which is a ſign of his good reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the Ground, and retires a few paces back, making ſome brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour; and remaining afterwards a while ſilent, in an humble poſture, bowing forward with his hands before him, until the *Soltana* commands him to bring her water, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of water provided for that purpoſe, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand; then ſhe takes off her red veil from before her face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and ſo drinks; in the mean time her Serving-maids bring in a low Table, on which are ſet a pair of Pigeons roaſted, and a plate of Sugar-candy; the Bridegroom then invites his coy Spouſe to the Collation, which ſhe refuſes until other Preſents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward room; with which her modeſty being overcome and her ſtomach brought down, ſhe is perſwaded to the Table, and ſitting down, receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom; taſts a little, and then puts a piece of the Sugar-candy into his mouth; and ſo riſing up returns to her place; all the Attendants then retire and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Soltana* for the ſpace of an hour to court her ſingly; that time being paſt, the Muſick ſounding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward room, where having paſſed moſt of the night with ſongs and ſports, at the approach of the morning; the *Soltana* weary of her paſtime retires to her bed, which is rich adorned and perfumed, fit to entertain Nuptial Joyes: The Bridegroom adviſed hereof by the nod of the Eunuch, creeps ſilently into the Bride-chamber, where ſtripping himſelf of his upper Garments, he kneels a while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kiſſing of them, aſcends higher to the embraces of his Spouſe, which ſhe willingly admits him to, and wiſhes her ſelf and him a happy Bedding: in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath; at whoſe call ariſing, he is preſented by the Bride with all ſorts of Linnen to be uſed in Bathing; after theſe Ceremonies are paſt, they are better acquainted, yet in publick ſhe keeps him at a diſtance, wears her Haniarre or Dagger by her ſide in token of her Superiority; and ſo frequently commands gifts and riches from him, until ſhe hath exhauſted him to the bottom of all his wealth. Nor is this eſteemed ſufficient to mortifie theſe poor ſlaves by a Womans Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon deſperate attempts, as lately *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, who was killed paſſing the River *Raab*, in the overthrow given the *Turks* by the Emperors Forces under *Montecuculi*; and others I could name in the like manner; leſt the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family without the croſſes and mortifications which attend it, ſhould puff them up with the ambition and proud thoughts, which is not lawful for them to imagine.

But

But it may well be objected how it came to paſs, that the preſent Prime Viſier called *Ahmet*, ſhould ſucceed his Father *Kuperlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a ſtrange deviation from the general rule of their Policy, and perhaps ſuch a preſident as may never hereafter be brought into example; but accidents concur oft-times to the fortune of ſome men without order or reaſon; and yet *Kuperlee* the Father had ſo well deſerved of the *Sultan*, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own wiſdom and reſolution ſaved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the faction and ambition of ſome aſpiring perſons, and by the blood of thouſands of mutinous and rebellious heads, had cemented and made firm the throne of his Maſter, that no honour could be thought ſufficient to be paid to his Ghoſt, unleſs it were the ſucceſſion of his Son in his place; which the more unuſual and irregular it was eſteemed, the greater glory it was to that family; and herein alſo this ſubtle fox plaid his Maſter-piece, by repreſenting the ſtate of affairs to remain in that poſture, as was neceſſary to be carried on with the ſame method as begun; which he had intruſted to the knowledge of his Son; and this was the reaſon why this young Viſier then ſcarce arrived to thirty years, and but an ordinary *Kadee* or Juſtice of the Law, was both as to his age and relation thus irregularly preferred to the office of Viſier.

The reaſons why *Ahmet Paſhaw* preſent Viſier, ſucceeded his Father *Kuperlee* in Government.

Nor hath hereditary ſucceſſion and long continuance in authority been only avoided amongſt the *Turks*; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governours, and never ſuffered them to continue long in one Province; and ſo the King of *Spain* doth at preſent in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples* and other parts, the ſpace of three years being commonly allotted them for their reſidence. But amongſt the *Turks* there is no fixed term of time appointed to their *Paſhaws*, but only they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior; who according to his pleaſure, and as he ſees reaſon cuts them off, recalls them, or tranſplants them to another Province; only the *Paſhaw* of Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*, hath a certain ſpace of three years appointed, to which his Government is confined; and there may be very good reaſon for it; for it being a place of great truſt, riches and power, in which *Paſhaws* grow in a ſhort time vaſtly wealthy, it cannot be wiſdom to continue them long there; the revenue of which we have had occaſion already to diſcourſe of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not only abbreviate their time, but alſo at their return ſhares in the beſt part of the prizes they have made. The *Romans* had that opinion of the wealth and power of *Egypt*, that *Auguſtus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominationis arcana*, that it ſhould not be lawful for any without particular licence to enter *Egypt*, and expreſly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without order from the Prince, or for affairs of State, to viſit thoſe parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reaſon for it, *Ne fame urgeret Italiam quiſquis eam Provinciam, clauſtraq; terræ ac maris, quamvis levi præſidio adverſum ingentes exercitus inſediſſet.* Lib. 1.

Another danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* ſedulouſly avoid, beſides hereditary ſucceſſion in office, is rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Fathers life; for afterwards the ſucceſſour takes care to ſecure his Brethren beyond poſſibility of compe-

tition. The ſtory of *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect experiment of the feud and diſſention which is bred in the deſires of barbarous Princes; ſo that when they arrive to any maturity of age, they are always tranſplanted to different *Seraglios* abroad, where they keep their Courts diſtinct, and cannot enter within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, during the life of their Father, leſt by interview with each other, their minds ſhould be moved with emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, ſhould be provided with means before their time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this very reaſon the Grand Signior hath ſcarce performed the ceremonies of his Inauguration before he hath ſeaſoned his entrance to his Throne with the blood of his Brothers; which barbarous cuſtom began in the time of *Sultan Bajazet*. But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a diſpoſition more naturally inclined to clemency then cruelty, he ſecures them in the *Seraglio*, under the tuition of Maſters, and care of a faithful guard; differing nothing from impriſonment, but in the name, prohibiting them the ſociety and converſation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this preſent *Sultan Mahomet*, live in as much obſcurity and forgetfulneſs, as if they had never been born, or having paſt a private life, were departed to the place where all things are forgotten.

It is no great digreſſion from our purpoſe here to take notice of two ſorts of Government purely popular; the one hath already had his period, and the other is of late beginning, and at preſent flouriſhes; and thoſe are the Common-wealths in *Egypt* under the *Mamalukes*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The firſt not only depoſed the whole Family of their Prince from having power in the Government, and from all ſucceſſion, but alſo made it an immutable law, that the Sons of the *Mamalukes* might ſucceed their Fathers in the inheritance of their eſtates, as lands and goods, but could not aſſume the title or Government of a *Mamaluke*; nor not only ſo, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewiſh* Faith, were uncapable *ipſo facto* of the Order of a *Mamaluke*; and only ſuch preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Chriſtians and become Slaves, inſtructed and educated in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition; or elſe men of maturer age, who having abjured God and their Country, were come thither to ſeek preferment in that Kingdom of darkneſs. And this ſlaviſh and ſtrange conſtitution of Government flouriſhed for the ſpace of 267 years, until overthrown in the year of our Lord 1517. by the arms of *Selymus* that victorious Emperour of the *Turks*. The preſent Government of *Algier* is but of a few years; the firſt original of which was by one *Barbaroſe* a famous Pyrate, and afterwards by the acceſſion of great quantities of *Turks* out of the *Levant*, the protection of the Grand Signior was craved, and a *Paſhaw* received from the Port; but now the *Paſhaw* remains without any power; the whole Government being transferred to the ſcum of the people; who fearing leſt the power ſhould at laſt become ſubject to the Natives, have made it a law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Country, whom they call *Cololies*, can be capable of an office in their Common-wealth; but only ſuch, who having been born Chriſtians, are perverted to the *Turkiſh* ſect, or elſe ſuch who come from parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions, to be members of their Repub-

Republique. And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared how much the *Turks* are jealous of all ſucceſſions in office and authority, which may prejudice the abſolute Monarchy of their great *Sultan.*

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent exchange of Officers, viz. the ſetting up of one, and degrading another, a rule always practiſed as wholeſome, and conducing to the welfare of the Turkiſh *State.*

HE that is an eye-witneſs and ſtrict obſerver of the various changes and chances in greatneſs, honours and riches of the *Turks*, hath a lively Embleme of contemplation before him, of the unconſtancy and mutability of humane affairs; fortune ſo ſtrangely ſports with this people, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage with all its Scenes, is ſcarce ſooner opened and ended, then the fate of divers great men, who in the day-time being exhaled to high ſublimity, by the powerful rayes of the *Sultans* favour, in the night fall, or vaniſh like a Meteor. The reaſon hereof, if duly conſidered, may be of great uſe as things ſtand here, that is, to the power of the Grand Signior; for in this conſtitution the health and benefit of the Emperour is conſulted before the welfare of the people: And the power of the Emperour is in no action more exerciſed and evidenced, then by withdrawing and conferring his favours; for by theſe means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for offices, and ſtand candidates to receive them, his power would ſeem to be at a *Nonplus*, and appear like an inconſiderate Father, who had ſpent more mony in the breeding of his Sons, then the Patrimony amounted to he had to beſtow upon them: and therefore the Grand Signior to imitate the Sun, benights ſome parts of the world to enlighten others, that ſo by a general influence and communication of his beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this courſe doth not only evidence the power of the Grand Signior, but likewiſe encreaſes it; for none are advanced in theſe times to office, but pay the Grand Signior vaſt ſumms of mony for it, according to the riches and expectations of profit from the charge; ſome pay, as the *Paſhaws* or Grand *Cairo* and *Babylon*, 3 or 4 hundred thouſand Dollars upon paſſing the Commiſſion; others one, others two hundred thouſand, ſome fifty thouſand, as their places are more or leſs conſiderable: and this mony is moſt commonly taken up at Intereſt, at 40 or 50 *per cent.* for the year, and ſometimes at double, when they are conſtrained to become debtors to the covetous Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*; ſo that every one upon his firſt entrance into office looks on himſelf (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged by juſtice or injuſtice, right or wrong, ſpeedily to diſburthen himſelf of the debts, and improve his own principal in the world; and this deſign muſt not be long in performance, leſt the haſty edict overtake him before his work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent. Think then (taking all circumſtances together of the covetous diſpoſiti-

on of a *Turk*, the cruelty amd narrowneſs of ſoul in thoſe men commonly that are born and educated in want) what oppreſſion, what rapine and violence muſt be exerciſed to ſatisfie the appetite of theſe men, who come famiſhed with immenſe deſires, and ſtrange conſiderations to ſatisfie! *Diu ſordidus repente dives mutationem fortunæ male regit, accenſis egeſtate longa cupidinibus immoderatus*, Tac. lib. 1. Hiſt. So that Juſtice in its common courſe is ſet to ſale, and it is very rare when any Law-ſuit is in hand, but bargains are made for the ſentence, and he hath moſt right who hath moſt money to make him *rectus in Curia*, and advance his cauſe. And it is the common courſe for both parties at difference, before they appear together in preſence of the Judge, to apply themſelves ſingly to him, and try whoſe donative and preſent hath the moſt in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt men exerciſe this kind of Trade in Traffiquing with Juſtice; for having before bought the Office, of conſequence they muſt ſell the Fruit.

Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

Add here unto a ſtrange kind of facility in the *Turks*, for a trifle or ſmall hire to give falſe witneſs in any caſe, eſpecially, and that with a word, when the controverſie happens between a Chriſtian and a *Turk*; and then the pretence is for the *Muſſulmanleek* as they call it, the cauſe is religious, hallows all falſeneſs and forgery in the teſtimony; ſo that I believe in no part of the world can Juſtice run more out of the current and ſtream then in *Turky*, where ſuch Maximes and conſiderations corrupt both the Judge and Witneſſes. *Turcæ magnæ pietatis loco ducunt dicere falſum teſtimonium adverſus hominem Chriſtianum; non expectant ut rogentur; injuſſi adſunt ſeque ultro ingerunt.*

Busbeq; Ep. 4. de Leg Tur.

This conſideration and practice made an *Engliſh* Embaſſadour upon renewing the Capitulations, to inſert an Article of caution againſt the teſtimony of *Turks*, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of *Turkiſh* Juſtice, againſt the *Engliſh* intereſt; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that caſe, but only a *Hoget*, which is in the nature of a Recogniſance made before a Judge, or a Bill or Writing under the hand of him on whom the demand is made; which Article as it was very adviſedly, and with great Prudence and Wiſdom obtained, ſo it hath proved of admirable conſequence and ſecurity to the Traffick and Merchants Eſtates, which before being lyable to the Forgeries and falſe pretences of every diſſolute *Turk*, have now this point as a defence and fortification, by which falſe pretences and ſuits for conſiderable ſums of mony, and matters of great value have been blown away, and decided with great facility and little expence.

Turkiſh Hiſtory in the reign of Bajazet the fourth King of the Turks.

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the *Turks*, the Courts of Juſtice were in like manner corrupted, as at preſent; for reformation of which the Prince reſolved to execute a great number of the Lawyers, until it was pleaſantly repreſented by his Jeſter (to whom between jeſt and earneſt he had given liberty to ſpeak the truth, which ſoberer men durſt not) that all the cauſe of bribery and corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of ſtipends and neceſſary maintenance; whereupon *Bajazet* growing cooler, ſenſible of the cauſe of that evil, applyed a remedy, by granting their pardon, and allowing them ſalaries and ſtipends, with additional Fees of twenty Aſpers, in all cauſes exceeding a thouſand; and twelve Aſpers for every writing and inſtrument out of Court.

Court. And in times of the beſt Emperours, when vertue and deſerts were conſidered, and the Empire flouriſhed and encreaſed, men had offices conferred for their merits, and good ſervices were rewarded freely and with bounty, without ſums of money and payments to be a foyl to the luſtre of their better parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all matters run out of courſe; a manifeſt token in my opinion of the declenſion and decay of the *Ottoman* Empire, as *Livy* ſaith; *Omnia proſpera ſequentibus Deos, adverſa autem ſpernentibus.* How ſoever in part this ſerves the great end of the Empire; for *Paſhaws* and great men having a kind of a neceſſity upon them to oppreſs their ſubjects, the people thereby loſe their courages; and by continual Taxes and ſeiſures on what they gain, poverty ſubdues their ſpirits, and makes them more patiently ſuffer all kind of injuſtice and violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion; and ſo the Lord *Verulam* ſayes in his *Eſſayes*, that it is impoſſible for a people overladen with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant; for no Nation can be the Lyons Whelp, and the Aſs between burthens: by which means the *Turk* preſerves ſo many different ſort of people as he hath conquered in due obedience, uſing no other help then a ſevere hand joyned to all kind of oppreſſion; but ſuch as are *Turks*, and bear any name of office or degree in the ſervice of the Empire, feel but part of this oppreſſion, and live with all freedom, having their ſpirits raiſed by a licenſe they attain to inſult over others that dare not reſiſt them. Eſſay 29.

But the iſſue and concluſion of the ſpoils theſe great men make on ſubjects is very remarkable; for as if God were pleaſed to evidence his juſt puniſhment more evidently and plainly here, then in other ſins; ſcarce any of all thoſe *Paſhaws* who have made haſte to be rich, have eſcaped the Grand Signiors hands, but he either wholly deveſts them of all, or will ſhare the beſt part of the prey with them. Amongſt which I have obſerved none paſſes ſo hardly as the *Paſhaws* of Grand *Cairo*, becauſe it is the richeſt and moſt powerful of all the Governments of this Empire; and ſo either in his journey home, or after his return, he loſes his life by publick command, or at leaſt is rifled of his goods as ill-got, which are condemned to the Grand Signiors treaſury: And it is ſtrange to ſee yet with what heat theſe men labour to amaſs riches, which they know by often experiences have proved but collections for their Maſter; and only the Odium and Curſes which the oppreſſed wretches have vented againſt their Rapine, remain to themſelves; *rebus ſecundis avidi, adverſis autem incauti*, *Tac.* And this is like the policy that *Cæſar Borgia* uſed, otherwiſe called *il Duca Valentine*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately ſubdued to obedience, made one *Meſſer Romiro d' Orco* his Deputy, a man of a cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition, who by rigour and force reduced affairs to the will and order of his Prince: and the work now done, and the people remaining extraordinarily diſcontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the minds of his people of the ill apprehenſion they had of his Government, by demonſtrating that the former hard uſage proceeded from the bad inclination of his Miniſter; commanded the ſame *Romiro d' Orco* at *Ceſenna*, to be cut in pieces, and expoſed to the publick view of the people, with a piece of wood, and a bloody knife by his ſide. This

ſaith

ſaith *Machiavel*, lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *fece aquelli popoli in un tempo remanere ſtupidi & ſodisfatti*; and the *Turk* underſtands well how profitable in the ſame manner it is for the conſtitution of his Eſtate, to uſe evil inſtruments, who may oppreſs and poll his people, intending afterwards for himſelf the whole harveſt of their labours; they remaining with the hatred, whilſt the Prince under colour of performing juſtice, procures both riches and fame together.

If it be ſuſpected that any great man intends to make combuſtion or mutiny in his Government, or that his wealth or natural abilities render him formidable; without farther inquiſition or ſcrutiny, all diſcontent of the Grand Signior is diſſembled, and perhaps a Horſe, or Sword, or Sables-veſt is reported to be preſented, and all fair treatment is counterfeited, until the Executioner gets the bow-ſtring about his neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him: juſt
Lib. 6. Apoth. like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckow for fear that in time he ſhould become a Hawk.

And to make more room for the multitude of officers who crowd for Preferments, and to act the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the leaſt noiſe; oftentimes when a great Perſonage is removed from his place of Truſt, and ſent with a new Commiſſion to the charge perhaps of a greater Government; and though he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair demonſtrations of favour, before he hath advanced three dayes in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late hopes, the fatal command overtakes him; and without any accuſation or cauſe other then the will of the *Sultan*, he is barbarouſly put to death, and his body thrown into the dirt of a Forreign and unknown Country, without ſolemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no ſooner in the Grave, then his Memory is forgotten. And this methinks is ſomewhat agreeable to the crafty policy of *Tiberius*, who ſometimes would Commiſſionate men for Government of Provinces, to whom before-hand he had deſigned not to permit licenſe to depart the City; *Poſtremò eò provectus eſt, ut mandaverit quibuſdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat paſſurus.*

Hence are apparent the cauſes of the decay of Arts amongſt the *Turks*, of the neglect, want of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houſes and private Buildings are made ſlight, not durable for more then ten or twenty years; why you find no delightful Orchards and pleaſant Gardens and Plantations; and why in thoſe Countries where Nature hath contributed ſo much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradiſe; for men knowing no certain heir, nor who ſhall ſucceed them in their labours, contrive only for a few years enjoyment. And moreover, men are fearful of ſhewing too much oſtentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleaſures of their Gardens, leſt they ſhould bring on them the ſame fate, that *Nabals* Vineyard occaſioned to his Maſter: and therefore men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but only ſuch as are neceſſary and conducing to the meer courſe of living; for the very fear and crime of being known to be rich, makes them appear outwardly poor, and become naturally Stoicks and Philoſophers in all the points of a reſerved and cautious life. And here I am at a ſtand, and cannot conclude this

Chapter

Chapter without contemplating a while, and pleaſing my ſelf with the thoughts of the bleſſedneſs, the happineſs, the liberty of my own Country; where men under the protection and ſafe influence of a gracious and the beſt of Princes in the world, enjoy and eat of the fruit of their own labour, and purchaſe to themſelves with ſecurity Fields and Mannors, and dare acknowledge and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the inheritance to their Poſterity.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſeveral Arts the Turks *uſe to encreaſe their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatneſs of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreaſed.*

THere was never any people that laid Foundations and Deſigns of a great Empire, but firſt thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might beſt ſupply them with people, not only ſufficient for the ſacrifice and ſlaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Poſſeſſion and ſecurity of what the Sword hath conquered. We never underſtood how one people alone that was Martial, and by ſucceſſes in War had framed a large Empire, was able from the meer original of its own Stock, to abound with iſſue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the ſtronger Nations; nor how a handful of people with the greateſt policy and courage in the world was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that *Alexander* did with an Army, for the moſt part, compoſed of *Macedonians*, as it were in a rank make a Conqueſt of the beſt part of the Eaſtern world; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail and no Ballaſt, or a fair Tree over-charged with boughs too heavy for its ſtem, became a windfal on a ſudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no people in the world have ever been more open to receive all ſorts of Nations to them, then they, nor have uſed more arts to encreaſe the number of thoſe that are called *Turks*; and it is ſtrange to conſider, that from all parts of the world, ſome of the moſt diſſolute and deſperate in wickedneſs, ſhould flock to theſe Dominions, to become members and profeſſors of the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition; in that manner that at preſent, the blood of the *Turks* is ſo mixed with that of all ſorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his lineage from the ancient blood of the *Saracens*.

The *Romans* who well knew the benefit of receiving ſtrangers into their boſome, called this freedom they gave *Jus civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawful poſſeſſors of Eſtates and Inheritance, and had as much right to the common priviledges, as any that was born in the Walls of *Rome*; and this *Jus civitatis* was given to whole Families; ſo that as Sir *F. B.* ſays well, that the *Romans* did not over-ſpread the World, but the World it ſelf. The *Engliſh* call it Naturalization, the *French* Enfranchiſment; and the *Turks* call it becoming a Believer; Eſſayes.

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for they joyning with it a point of Religion, not only the proffers of the goods of this world, but alſo of delights in the world to come, make the allurements and arguments the more prevalent; and it being an opinion amongſt them, as over all the world, that it is a meritorious work to create Proſelytes, ſcarce any who hath money to purchaſe a ſlave, but will procure one young and fit for any impreſſion, whom he may name his Convert, and gain reputation amongſt his neighbours of having added to the number of the faithful: Of all this number, which yearly are added to the Profeſſors of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower terms then Death and Martyrdom for Chriſt; which cauſes many whoſe conſciences, though touched with a ſenſe of the denial of their Saviour, yet having not the grace or courage to aſſert their faith on ſo hard a Leſſon, grow deſperate or careleſs, and dye in their ſin. This ſort of people become really *Turks*, and ſome through cuſtom and their own luſts, are really perſwaded of the truth of this profeſſion, and have proved more inveterate and fatal enemies to Chriſtianity, then the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we conſider that all the ſucceſſes they have had, and exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by ſuch who have denyed the Chriſtian Faith, as namely *Chigal*, *Ogli*, and others.

It was the cuſtom formerly amongſt the *Turks*, every five years to take away the Chriſtians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition; by which means they encreaſed their own people, and diminiſhed and enfeebled the force of the Chriſtians; but now that cuſtom in a great part is grown out of uſe, through the abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turks* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary honour and priviledge of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane reaſon, that conſiders the oppreſſion and contempt that poor Chriſtians are expoſed to, and the ignorance in their Churches, occaſioned through poverty in the Clergy, that many ſhould be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of thoſe words of Chriſt, *That the Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to prevail againſt his Church*, that there is conſerved ſtill amidſt ſo much oppoſition, and in deſpight of all Tyranny and Arts contrived againſt it, an open and publick Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; which next to Gods Providence, conſidering the ſtupid ignorance in the *Greek* and *Armenian* Churches, the conſervation of their Faith is not to be attributed to any inſtance more, then to the ſtrict obſervation of the Feaſts and Faſts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechiſm or Sermons, they learn yet from theſe outward Ceremonies ſome confuſed Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exerciſe with ſeverity and rigour this ſort of Devotion, when through cuſtom, confuſion and ſcarcity of knowing guides, all other ſervice is become obſolete and forgotten amongſt them.

The *Turks* have another extraordinary ſupply of people from the Black Sea, ſent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light bodies of Horſe make incurſions into the Territories of the neighbouring Chriſtians, and carry with them a booty of whole Cities and Countries of people, moſt of which they ſend to *Conſtantinople* to be ſo ſold, and is the chief Trade and Commodity of their Country (as we have already diſcourſed.)

diſcourſed.) It is ſad to ſee what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkiſh* Veſſels, come ſailing through the *Boſphorus*, fraighted with poor Chriſtian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Main-top a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or elſe as a Mark of the Ware and Merchandiſe they carry. The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Conſtantinople* is uncertain; for ſometimes it is more, and ſometimes leſs, according to the Wars and ſucceſs of the *Tartars*; but as it is apparent in the Regiſters of the cuſtoms at *Conſtantinople* only, one year with another at the leaſt 20000 are yearly imported; amongſt which the greateſt part being Women and Children, with eaſie perſwaſions, and fair promiſes become *Turks*; the men being ignorant, and generally of the *Ruſſian* or *Moſcovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed conſtancy and perſeverance in Religion) partly by menaces and fear, partly by good words and allurements of reward, deſpairing of liberty, and return to their own Country, renounce all intereſt in the Chriſtian Faith. Of this ſort of Metal moſt of the *Turks* are in theſe days compoſed, and by the fecundity of this generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow; for the *Turks* of themſelves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and freer uſe of divers Women allowed them by their Law, then the ſeverity of Chriſtian Religion doth permit, are yet obſerved to be leſs fruitful in Children, then thoſe who confine themſelves to the chaſte embraces of one Wife. It is true, we have heard how in former times there have been particular men amongſt the *Turks*, that have ſeverally been Fathers to a hundred Sons; but now through that abominable vice of *Sodomie*, which the *Turks* pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and profeſſed ſhame of that people, few fecundious Families are found amongſt them; eſpecially amongſt the Perſons of the greater Quality, who have means and time to act and contrive their filthineſs with the moſt deformity. And in this manner, the natural uſe of the Women being neglected amongſt them, and as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Men burning in luſt one towards another*; ſo little is mankind propagated, that many think, were it not for the abundant ſupplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea (as before we have declared) conſidering the Summer-ſlaughters of the Plague, and deſtructions of War, the *Turk* would have little cauſe to boaſt of the vaſt numbers of his people: and that a principal means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were to prevent the taking of ſo many Captives, or intercept thoſe numbers of Slaves which are daily tranſported to nouriſh and feed the body of this great *Babylon*; by which means in time they would not only find a want of Servants, but a decay and ſcarcity of Maſters; ſince as it is before mentioned, theſe Slaves becoming *Turks*, are capable of all priviledges, and being commonly Manumiſed by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferments with thoſe who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: this is the true reaſon, the *Turk* can ſpend ſo many people in his Wars, and values not the lives of ten thouſand men to win him but a ſpan of ground, and yet almoſt without any ſenſible diminution of his people; and on the contrary, the invention of an Inquiſition, and the diſtinction between *Chriſtianos vieios*, and *Nuevos* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, have cauſed that decay and ſcarcity of people in thoſe Countries, as hath laid the beſt part of thoſe fruitful Soyls

Rom. cap. 1.

deſolate, and forced them both to a neceſſity of entertaining a mercenary Souldiery.

It is no ſmall inducement to the vulgar people, who is moſt commonly won with outward allurements, to become *Turks*; that when they are ſo, by a white Turbant, or ſuch a particular Note of honour, they ſhall be diſtinguiſhed from other like Sects (all people amongſt the *Turks*, being known by their heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and ſo may the better be directed where they may have a priviledge to domineer and injure with the moſt impunity. If we conſider how delightful the Mode is in *England* and *France*, eſpecially to thoſe that are of a vain and gay humor, and that nothing ſeems handſome or comely, but what is dreſſed in the faſhion and air of the times; we ſhall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongſt Chriſtians, born and Educated in thoſe Countries, ſhould be catched and entrapt with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkiſh* Mode, and be contented to deſpoil themſelves of the garment of Chriſtian vertues, to aſſume a dreſs more Courtly and pleaſing to the eyes of the world; for ſo the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themſelves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be humanity and refinement of their manners; but *Tacitus* ſaith, *Pars ſervitutis erat*, a ſignal ſymptom of their ſubjection. *De Vita Agric.*

And it is worth a Wiſemans obſervation, how gladly the *Greeks* and *Armenian* Chriſtians imitate the *Turkiſh* Habit, and come as neer to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are priviledged upon ſome extraordinary occaſion to appear without their Chriſtian diſtinction. And thus the *Turk* makes his very Habit a bait to draw ſome to his Superſtition; Riches, to allure the covetous; rewards and hopes, to rule the ambitious; fears and terrours of death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the diſpoſitions and humours of men, to make additions to his Kingdom: Such as adhere to the Chriſtian Faith, the *Turk* makes no account of, and values no otherwiſe in the place of Subjects, then a man doth of his Ox or Aſs, meerly to carry the burthens, and to be uſeful in ſervile and ſlaviſh Offices: they are oppreſſed, and are ſubject to all advantages and pretences; and their Goods and Eſtates gained with labour, and the ſweat of their brows, liable to the Rapine of every great man; they are diſarmed, and never exerciſed in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and leſs dangerous in Rebellion: only the people of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, under the conduct of their reſpective Princes that the Grand Signior ſets over them, ſerve him in their perſons in the War, and are the firſt thruſt forward in all deſperate enterpriſes; ſo that the oppreſſion of the poor Chriſtians under the *Turk*, is worthy our compaſſion, how poor they are become, how their former wealth is exhauſted, how the fatneſs of their rich ſoil is drained, and made barren by poiſonous ſuckers; ſo that it is evident that the *Turks* deſign is no other, then by impoveriſhment and enfeebling the intereſt of Chriſtianity, to draw Proſelytes and ſtrength to his own Kingdom.

Wherefore ſome ſort of poor Chriſtians, either actually Subjects to the *Turkiſh Tyranny*, or borderers on them, who often feel the miſery of their incurſions, being fearful of their own conſtancy in the faith, have

have contrived ways to preſerve themſelves from any other profeſſion: wherefore in *Mengrelia*, the Chriſtians at the Baptiſm of their Children make a croſs on their hands; and in *Servia* their cuſtom is to make it on their foreheads, with the juyce of a certain Herb, the ſtain of which never wears out; ſo that ſome of theſe Nations, who become Renegadoes to the Chriſtian Faith, bear always a badge and note of deſignation about them to a holy profeſſion, which may ſerve to upbraid their perfidious deſertion of the faith; the croſs on their forehead appearing for a ſhame and diſcountenance to the white Turbant on their heads. By which pious art, many of theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians have notwithſtanding fear and deſpair of liberty, and promiſes of reward, through the apprehenſion of this incongruity between the Croſs and the banner of *Mahomet*, preſerved themſelves firm to their firſt colours.

CHAP. XIX.

The manner of Reception of Forreign Embaſſadours amongſt the Turks, *and the eſteem they have of them.*

THere was no Nation in the World ever ſo barbarous, that did not acknowledge the Office of an Embaſſadour ſacred and neceſſary.

Sanctum populis per ſæcula nomen;

And *Cicero* ſaith, *Sic enim ſentio jus legatorum cum hominum præſidio munitum, tum etiam divino jure eſſe vallatum*; the *Alchoran* it ſelf calls this Office inviolable; and it is a Turkiſh Canon, *Elchi zaval yoketer*, Do no hurt to an Embaſſadour; ſo that the *Turks* do confeſs themſelves obliged by their own law to rules of civilities, courteous treatment, and protection of Embaſſadours. The greateſt honour they ſhow to any forreign Miniſter, is to him who comes from the Emperour, becauſe his confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occaſion more frequently, then with other Chriſtian Princes, to try the power of the Imperial Sword. An Embaſſadour coming from the Emperour, as ſoon as he enters within the *Ottoman* Dominions, hath his charges defrayed by the *Sultan*, according to the importance of the buſineſs and negotiation he is deſigned to, until the time of his return; and a Reſident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner his conſtant allowance. As it hath always been a cuſtom amongſt the Eaſtern Princes to ſend preſents each to other, as tokens of friendſhip and amity; ſo the Emperour is by an ancient cuſtom and agreement obliged to accompany his Embaſſadour to this Court with preſents and gifts, as offerings of peace: and on the contrary, that the Emperour may not remain with the diſadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompence the Embaſſy with another from himſelf, and adorn it with preſents of equal value with thoſe that were ſent him. But Embaſſadours and Repreſentatives from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whoſe principal deſign is eſteemed for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their preſents, which the *Turk* by cuſtom calls his right, and judges not himſelf obliged to return the

De Haruſp. reſponſis.

like, eſteeming his Capitulations and Articles he makes with thoſe Princes, priviledges and immunities granted their ſubjects.

The ceremonies they uſe at the audience of every Embaſſadour are acted (as in all parts of the world) moſt to ſet off the glory of the Empire; and repreſented with ſuch advantages, as may beſt afford a Theme for an Embaſſadours pen to deſcribe the riches, magnificence and terrour of the *Ottoman* power. The Audience with the Grand Signior (having firſt paſſed a complement with the Prime Viſier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for payment of the *Janizaries*, which is every three moneths; and with that occaſion, the Order and Diſcipline of the Militia, the Mony and Stipends that are iſſued forth, are there expoſed to the obſervation of the publick Miniſter. The mony is brought into the *Divan*, and there piled in heaps, where the Embaſſadour is firſt introduced, and ſeated on a Stool covered with Crimſon-Velvet, placed near the firſt Viſier, and other Viſiers of the Bench: as ſoon as the money is paid out of the chief of every *Oda* or Chamber, who afterwards diſtribute it amongſt their Souldiers, a plentiful dinner is prepared for the Embaſſadour, who together with the firſt Viſier, and other Viſiers of the Bench, and *Teſtardar* or Lord Treaſurer, are ſeated at the ſame Table, which is not raiſed as high as the Tables we uſe, but ſomething lower, covered over with a capacious Voyder of Silver, in which the diſhes are ſet, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the ſame room are two other Tables for the principal attendants of the Embaſſadour, and other perſonages amongſt the *Turks* of chief note and quality; the diſhes are ſerved in by one at a time, which as ſoon as touched or taſted, are taken off to make room for another; and thus there is a ſucceſſion of threeſcore or fourſcore Services, all the diſhes being of *China*, worth about 150 Dollars a piece; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to poiſon, and to break with the leaſt infuſion thereof, and for that reaſon eſteemed more uſeful for the ſervice of the Grand Signior.

Nam nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus, &c. Juvenal.

The banquet being ended, the *Chaoushaſhee*, or chief of the Purſivants conducts the Embaſſadour, with ſome of his retinue, to a place apart, where ſeveral gay Veſts, or long Garments, made of Silk with divers figures, are preſented them (as a ſign of the Grand Signiors favour) which the Embaſſadour firſt putting on, and then the others, to the number of 18 or 19, attended with two *Capugibaſhees*, or chief of the Porters, perſons of good eſteem in that Court, with ſilver ſtaves in their hands, he is conducted neerer towards the Grand Signiors preſence; then follow the preſents brought by the Embaſſadour, which are carried to the beſt advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with *Janizaries*, amongſt whom is obſerved ſo profound a ſilence, that there is not the leaſt noiſe or whiſper underſtood; and the ſalutations they give their principal Officers as they paſs, bowing altogether at the ſame time, is war-like, and yet courtly, and ſavours of good Diſcipline and Obedience.

The Audience of Embaſſadours.

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The Embaſſadour is then brought to a great gate neer the Audience, the Porch of which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold; farther then this, none is ſuffered to proceed, beſides the Secretary, Interpreter, and ſome other perſons of beſt quality: at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep ſilence, and the murmuring of a Fountain neer by, adds to the melancholy; and no other guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pauſe is made, and they tread ſoftly in token of fear and reverence, ſo as not to diſturb with the leaſt noiſe the Majeſty of the *Sultan*: for acceſs to the Eaſtern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the ſame familiarity as hath been practiſed amongſt the *Romans*, and at preſent with us, where the ſight of the King is his own glory, and the ſatisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the *Turks*, as it was with the *Parthians*, when they received *Vonones* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to thoſe manners, ſaith *Tacitus*, *irridebantur Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis virtutes*; Lib. 2. Ann. the affability and eaſineſs of addreſs to their Prince, was a ſcandal to that Nation. At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience hangs a ball of Gold, ſtudded with pretious Stones, and about it great chains of rich Pearl; the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimſon-velvet, embroidered with Gold wyre, in many places beſet with ſeed Pearl. The Throne where the Grand Signior ſits, is raiſed a ſmall height from the ground, ſupported with four Pillars plated with Gold: the roof is richly guilded, from which hang balls, that ſeem to be of Gold: the Cuſhions he leaned upon, as alſo thoſe which lay by, were richly embroidered with Gold and Jewels: In this Chamber with this occaſion remains no other attendance beſides the firſt Viſier, who ſtands at the right hand of the Grand Signior with modeſty and reverence. When the Embaſſadour comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and ſupported under the arms by the two *Capugibaſhees* before mentioned; who bringing him to a convenient diſtance, laying their hands upon his neck, make him bow until his forehead almoſt touches the ground, and then raiſing him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the room; the like ceremony is uſed with all the others, who attend the Embaſſadour; only that they make them bow ſomewhat lower then him; the reaſon of this cuſtom, as *Busbequius* ſaith, was, becauſe that a *Croat* being admitted neer to *Amurath*, to communicate ſomething to him, made uſe of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the death of his Maſter *Marous*; but the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory ſaith, that this was done by one *Miles Corbelitz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarus* the Deſpoſt of *Servia*, riſing from amongſt the dead, had neer acceſs to the preſence of *Amurath*. The Embaſſadour at this Audience hath no chairſet him, but ſtanding, informs the Grand Signior by his Interpreter, the ſeveral demands of his Maſter, and the buſineſs he comes upon, which is all penned firſt in writing; which when read, is with the Letter of credence conſigned into the hands of the great Viſier, from whom the anſwer and farther treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given the Earl of *Winchelſea*, when Embaſſadour there for his Majeſty, and is (as is there ſaid) the form uſed to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured, and reſpected. But though the *Turks* make theſe outward demonſtrations

of

of all due reverence and religious care to preſerve the perſons of Embaſſadours ſacred and free from violence; yet it is apparent by their treatment and uſage towards them, in all emergencies and differences between the Prince they come from, and themſelves, that they have no eſteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Embaſſadour immediately is either committed to cloſe impriſonment, or at leaſt to the cuſtody of a careful guard, confined within the limits of his own houſe: in this manner, the Repreſentative of *Venice*, called there the *Bailo*, by name *Sorenzo*, in a ſtreight Chamber of a Caſtle ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, endured a ſevere impriſonment, having his Interpreter ſtrangled, for no other cauſe then performing his office in the true interpretation of his Maſters ſence: afterwards this *Bailo* (for ſo they call there the Embaſſadors from *Venice*) was removed to another priſon at *Adrianople*, where he continued ſome years; and in fine, by force of preſents mollifying the *Turks* with mony (with which their nature is eaſily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the houſe appropriated to the Repreſentatives of *Venice*, but under a guard, whoſe office was to ſecure him from eſcape, and obſerve his actions; and yet with liberality and preſents, which overcome the *Turks* more then any conſideration in the world, he enjoyed as he pleaſed, licenſe for his health to take the freſh air, and uſe what freedom was reaſonable.

Nor leſs injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the examples of violence and rage, acted on the perſons of the French Embaſſadours; firſt on the *Sieur Senſi*, accuſed upon ſuſpition of having contrived the eſcape of *Koniſpolski*, General of the *Poliſh* Army, taken captive in a Fight, and ſent Priſoner to the aboveſaid Caſtle on the *Boſphorus*; the means was by a Silken cord ſent in a Pye, with Limes and Files to cut the Iron bars; and having firſt ſecured his guard with the ſtrength of wine, in the dead of the night, let him down by the cord from the higheſt Tower, where finding Horſes ready, he got ſafe into *Poland*: the contrivance of this ſtratagem, and the inſtruments of the eſcape, was laid to the charge of the *French* Embaſſadour; who was committed for that reaſon to the Priſon of the ſeven Towers, where he remained for the ſpace of four months, until his mony, and the *French* King his Maſter mediated for him, promiſing to ſend another ſpeedily to ſucceed him; he was delivered from his impriſonment, and returned home by the way of *Poland*.

The ſucceſſor of this Embaſſadour was the Count *Ceſi*, a man too generous and ſplendid to live amongſt covetous and craving *Turks*; exhauſted moſt of his wealth in gifts and preſents; to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signiors Miſtreſſes in the *Seraglio* (as is ſaid) he paid ſuch vaſt ſums of mony to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in a few years he became ſo indebted, and importuned with the clamours of his Creditors, as wholly diſcredited, and loſt the Honour and Authority of his Embaſſy; ſo that the *French* King thinking it diſhonourable to continue his Miniſter in that charge, who was failed and undone in the reputation of the world, ſent his Letter of Revocation to recal him home; but the *Turks* gave a ſtop to his return, pretending that their Law which was indulgent to the perſons

of

of Embaſſadours, did not yet acquit them from payment of their debts, or priviledge them with impunity to rob the Believers and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that rule of *Grotius*, who not only exempts the Perſons, but the Servants and moveables of Embaſſadours from attachments; and no Law can compel him to the ſatisfaction of debts by force, but by friendly perſwaſion only, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick perſon, he becomes liable to common proceſs; *Si quid ergo debiti contraxit, & ut fit, res ſoli eo loco nullas poſſideat, ipſe compellandus erit amice, & ſi detrectet, is qui miſit, ita ut ad poſtremum uſurpentur ea, quæ adverſus debitores extra territorium poſitos uſurpari ſolent.* *Grot. lib. de Jure belli & pac.*

Nor leſs remarkable was the barbarous uſage of the *Sieur la Haye*, Embaſſadour alſo for the *French* King to the Port, under the Government of the great Viſier *Kuperli*. The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*; through the mediation of the *French* Embaſſadour, by conſent and command of his Maſter, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters were intercepted by the *Turks*; by what means, and upon what information, the matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other then an *Italian* contrivance: the Cypher, as containing matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople*; and being known by examination and confeſſion of the Meſſenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the *French* affairs; immediately in all haſte the Embaſſador then at *Conſtantinople* was cited to appear at Court; but being ancient, and indiſpoſed in his health with the Gout and Stone, diſpatched his Son as his Procurator, with inſtructions and orders how to anſwer what might be objected; hoping by that means to excuſe the inconvenience of a Winters journey.

The Son being there arrived, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the private affairs of the Embaſſie, apprehending the fury and injuſtice of the *Turks*, had timely ſecured himſelf by flight.) Diſcourſe was firſt had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the *Turks* inſolent in their Speeches, provoked this *Sieur la Haye* the younger, to utter ſomething tending towards a contempt of that power the *Turks* had over him, encouraging himſelf with the thoughts of the protection of the King his Maſter; who was ſoon ſenſible, and moved with the leaſt injuries offered his Miniſters. The *Turks*, who can endure nothing leſs then menaces, and *Kuperlee* through natural cruelty and choler of old age, and particular malice againſt the *French* Nation, moved with this reply, commanded the *Caousbaſhee*, who is chief of the Purſevants, to ſtrike him in the mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robuſtious fellow, that with a few blows of his Fiſt, he ſtruck out two of his Teeth before, and in a moſt undecent and barbarous manner dragged him with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon ſo loathſome and moiſt, that the ill vapours oft-times extinguiſhed the Candle. The old Embaſſadour the Father, was with like *Turkiſh* fury ſent for, the *Turks* executing all they do with ſtrange haſte and violence; *Barbaris contatio ſervilis, ſtatim exequi regium videtur*; and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was alſo committed to cuſtody, though not with that rigour and ſeverity of Impriſonment *Tac. lib. 6.*

as the Son, until the ſpace of two Months paſſing with preſents and ſollicitations, they both obtained their liberty, and returned again to *Conſtantinople*; where ſcarce were they arrived, before news coming of a *French* Ship, which had loaden Goods of *Turks*, and run away with his Cargaſon, the Embaſſadour was again committed to another Priſon in *Conſtantinople*, called the ſeven Towers, where he remained, until with Gifts and Money, the anger of the *Turks* was abated. And ſtill the malice of *Kuperlee* perſecuted this *Sieur la Haye*, until after his Embaſſie of 25 years continuance, unfortunate only at the concluſion, he was diſpatched home obſcurely and in diſgrace, without Letters of revocation from his Maſter, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might ſignifie the deſire of this Embaſſadours return.

The reaſon of this irreverent carriage in the *Turks* towards the perſons of Embaſſadours, contrary to the cuſtom of the ancient *Romans*, and other gallant and civilized people, is an apprehenſion and Maxime they have received, that an Embaſſadour is indued with two qualifications; one of repreſenting to the Grand Signior the deſires of his Prince, the breach of Articles or League, the aggrievances and abuſes of Merchants trading in his Dominions; that ſo ſatisfaction and amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hoſtage, called by themſelves *Mahapous* or pledge; by which he becomes reſponſible for what is acted by his Prince contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a pawn for the faithful and ſincere carriage of his Nation, and as ſecurity to inſure what goods belonging to *Turks* are loaden on their Veſſels. As the Reſident for *Holland* was in the year 1663, impriſoned at *Adrianople* for miſcarriages of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken by *Malteſe* men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were goods loaden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other conſiderable perſons of State, and was not releaſed, until he engaged to eighty five thouſand Dollars, in the ſpace of one hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the *Turkiſh* intereſt.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the ſacred eſteem of Embaſſadours, found better obſervation towards the Repreſentatives of the *German* Emperour, who have upon all conjunctures of Diſcord and Breaches of Peace between thoſe two powerful Princes, been ſubject to confinements and cuſtody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal impriſonment; or elſe, as it happened to the *German* Reſident in the laſt War, are tranſported from place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the time of their proſperous ſucceſſes, and as a means at hand to reconcile and mediate when evil Fortune compells them to compoſition.

What ill fate ſoever hath attended the Miniſters of other Princes in this Court, the Embaſſadours from His Majeſty of Great *Britain*, our Sacred King, have never incurred this diſhonour and violation of their Office; the negotiations and differences ſince the *Engliſh* Trade hath been opened in *Turkie*, have been various and conſiderable, and matters as to the ſecurity of the Embaſſadour and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtful condition, as far as words and rude ſpeeches full of menaces and choler, might make a ſober man ſuſpicious of a greater ruine: And yet through the conſtancy, prudence and good fortune of Embaſſadours, the *Turkiſh* raſhneſs hath not drawn upon

themſelves the guilt of violating their perſons, but have either prevented troubles in the beginning, or wiſely compounded them before they made too far a breach.

It is worth obſervation, that the *Turks* make no difference in the name between an Embaſſadour, Reſident, Agent, or any petty Meſſenger ſent or reſiding upon a publick Affair; the name *Elchi*, ſerves them to expreſs all: and though the *Turks* on occaſion of Ruptures and other Diſcontents loſe their reſpect towards the perſon of Embaſſadours; yet ſtill it is commendable in them, that they commonly abſtain from the ſpoil and plunder of the Merchants eſtates, with whoſe Prince they are at enmity; for they look on Merchants as men, whoſe profeſſion is beſt advanced by Peace; and as their own compariſon is, like to the laborious Bee which brings Honey to the Hive, and is innocent, induſtrious and profitable; and therefore an object of their compaſſion and defence.

CHAP. XX.

How Embaſſadours and publick Miniſters govern themſelves in their Negotiations and Reſidence amongſt the Turks.

EMbaſſadours in this Country have need both of courage and circumſpection, wiſdom to diſſemble with honour, and diſcreet patience, ſeemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized people cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would ſeem to put on the moſt courteous deportment and reſpect towards Chriſtians. The *French* Embaſſadour, *Monſieur la Haye*, ſent once to adviſe the great Viſier *Kuperlee*, that his Maſter had taken the ſtrong City of *Arras* from the *Spaniard*, and had obtained other Victories in *Flanders*, ſuppoſing that the *Turk* would outwardly have evidenced ſome ſigns of joy, and return an anſwer of congratulation; but the reply the Viſier gave, was no other then this (What matters it to me whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, ſo my Maſters head be but ſafe?) intimating that he had no other eſteem of Chriſtians, then as Savages or Beaſts; and with no other anſwer then this, due to an officious Courtſhip towards a *Turk*, the Meſſenger returned. There is no doubt, but of all thoſe means, wherewith Kingdoms and States are ſupported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the ſubſtantial and real ſtrength and force of the Prince, which conſiſts in his Armies and intereſt; and the other is the honour and reputation he gains abroad, which hath ſometimes proved of that Authority and conſequence, as to make the State of the weaker Prince to appear more conſiderable; or at leaſt, equal to the greater forces of the other. This reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of negotiation, and depends on the diſcretion of the Repreſentative, in which for many years the Republick of *Venice* had great advantages in the *Turkiſh* Court, through the caution and policy of their Miniſters, who nouriſhed in the *Turks* an opinion of their ſtrength of Arms, and force of Wiſdom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth, no Na-

tion in amity with the *Turk*, had their affairs treated with more honour and reſpect then this Common-wealth.

An Embaſſadour in this Court ought to be circumſpect and careful to avoid the occaſion of having his honour blemiſhed, or of incurring the leaſt violation of his perſon; for afterward, as one baffled in his reputation, he becomes ſcorned, loſes his power and intereſt, and all eſteem of his worth and wiſdom; for having endured one affront, their inſolence ſoon preſumes farther to treſpaſs on his patience: for certainly *Turks* of all Nations in the world, are moſt apt to cruſh and trample on thoſe that lye under their feet; as on the contrary, thoſe who have a reputation with them, may make the beſt and moſt advantageous treats of any part of the world, according to that of *Busbequius, Ep.* 1. *Sunt Turci in utramq; partem nimii ſive indulgentia, cum pro amicis ſe probare volunt, ſive acerbitate cum irati ſunt.* To reply according to the Pride and Ignorance of a *Turk*, is properly to blow up fire into a flame; to ſupport with ſubmiſſion and a puſillanimous ſpirit, his affronts and indignities, by negotiating faintly or coldly, is to add fuel and wood to the burning piles; but ſolid reaſon and diſcourſe, accompanied with chearful expreſſions, vivacity and courage in argument, is the only manner of dealing and treating with the *Turks*. That which is called good nature or flexible diſpoſition, is of little uſe to a publick Miniſter in his treaty with *Turks*: a punctual adherence to former cuſtoms and examples even to obſtinacy, is the beſt and ſafeſt rule; for the conceſſion of one point ſerves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third; and ſo their hopes increaſe with the ſucceſs, having no modeſty nor wiſdom to terminate their deſires; one act or two of favour is enough afterwards to introduce a cuſtom (which is the chiefeſt part of their Law) and to make that which is meerly voluntary, and of grace, to become of obligation. But a principal matter, which a publick Miniſter ought to look to, is to provide himſelf of ſpirited, eloquent and intelligent Interpreters; ſpirited, I ſay, becauſe many times the preſence is great they appear before, and the looks big and ſoure of a barbarous Tyrant; and it hath been known, that the Embaſſadour hath been forced to interpoſe his own Perſon, between the fury of the Viſier and his Interpreter, whoſe offence was only a delivery of the words of his Maſter; ſome of whom have notwithſtanding been impriſoned, or executed for this cauſe, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter: The reaſon of which Tyranny and preſumption in theſe prime Officers over the Interpreters, is becauſe they are moſt commonly born Subjects of the Grand Signior, and therefore ill ſupport the leaſt word miſ-placed, or ſavouring of conteſt from them, not diſtinguiſhing between the ſenſe of the Embaſſadour, and the explication of the Interpreter; and therefore it were very uſeful to breed up a Seminary of young Engliſhmen, of ſprightly and ingenious parts, to be qualified for that Office; who may with leſs danger to themſelves, honour to their Maſter, and advantage to the publick, expreſs boldly without the uſual mincing and ſubmiſſion of other Interpreters, whatſoever is commanded and declared by their Maſter.

It is certainly a good Maxime for an Embaſſadour in this Country, not to be over-ſtudious in procuring a familiar friendſhip with *Turks*; a fair comportment towards all in a moderate way, is cheap and ſecure; for

for a *Turk* is not capable of real friendſhip towards a Chriſtian; and to have him called only, and thought a friend who is in power, is an expence without profit; for in great emergencies, and times of neceſſity, when their aſſiſtance is moſt uſeful, he muſt be bought again, and his friendſhip renewed with preſents, and farther expectations: howſoever, this way of negotiation by preſents and gratuities, is ſo much in cuſtom amongſt the *Turks*, that to ſpeak truly, ſcarce any thing can be obtained without it; but it is the wiſdom of the Miniſter, to diſpoſe and place them with honour, decency, and advantage: For there are, and have been always, two or three powerful perſons in this Court, which in all times carry the principal ſway, and command of all; theſe muſt neceſſarily be treated with reſpect, and often ſweetned with gratuities: he that hath money may doubtleſs make friends when he needs them, and with that ſecure his capitulation and his priviledge, purchaſe juſtice, and if his ſtock will hold out, act any thing that can reaſonably be imagined; yet it is the moſt profitable and prudent way to refer ſomething to friendſhip and good correſpondence, and not all to the meer force and ſtrength of money.

CHAP. XXI.

How Forreign Princes in particular ſtand in the eſteem and opinion of the Turks.

THe *Turks*, as we have occaſionally inſtanced before, are naturally a proud and inſolent people, confident, and conceited of their own vertue, valour, and forces, which proceeds from their ignorance of the ſtrength and conſtitution of other Countries; ſo that when the danger which may ariſe from the Conjunction and Union of Chriſtian Princes to the *Mahometan* Intereſt, is diſcourſed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lyon, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may ſerve (as they ſay) to rouſe and diſcompoſe the quiet and Majeſty of the Lyon, but can never bite him, but with their utmoſt peril. They ſay farther, as by an ingenuous confeſſion, that they are unable to encounter the Chriſtians at Sea, to whom God hath given that unſtable element for Dominion and Poſſeſſion; but that the Earth is the lot and inheritance of the *Turks*, which is demonſtrable by that great circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms. Theſe are the thoughts and apprehenſions of the Commonalty concerning Chriſtendom in general (which I have heard often diſcourſed amongſt them) but the opinion and eſteem which knowing men and Miniſters frame of Forreign Kingdoms and States diſtinctly, is for the moſt part according to theſe following particulars.

Of all the Princes ſo far remote as *England*, none amongſt this people ſtands in better account than His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, not only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides this Empire with many neceſſary commodities; but for the fame of his Shipping, and power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the world, yet a borderer on every Country, where the Ocean extends: And this eſteem and honour the *Sultan* bears towards His Majeſty,

hath been evidenced in ſeveral particulars, and by none more than by the ſecurity and freedom his Merchants live in, in theſe Dominions, and a readineſs always in every reaſonable requeſt, to gratifie His Majeſties Embaſſadors.

As for the Emperour, the *Turk* knows that his own proper and peculiar force in it ſelf, is inconſiderable, but that with the conjunction and aſſiſtance of the *German* Princes, they are aſſured, and have proved it to their experience in the year 1664, that his ſtrength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diverſity of Religions and Sects in *Germany*, abate much of that heat and coalition amongſt themſelves, which is requiſite to the vigorous oppoſition of ſo potent an enemy. And it is evident, that the Emperours unſeaſonable ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants in *Hungary*, diſobliging his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exerciſing other courſes for ſuppreſſion of the reformed Religion, ripened the *Turks* deſign of War firſt laid in the year 1663; conceiving that in that conjuncture, holding forth the ſpecious pretence of liberty in Religion and Conſcience, the *Hungarians* would either wholly deſert the Emperour, or very coldly and faintly apply themſelves to his ſuccour; the effect of which was in the ſucceeding Wars plainly verified, and known that the *Hungarians* were not only ſparing in their contribution and ſupplies of men in the ſervice of the Emperour, but held ſecret Juntoes and Councels, whether it were not better to accept the *Turks* ſoveraignty, on the conditions propoſed, with liberty of their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperour; who neither afforded them freedom of conſcience, which is the deſtruction of their ſpiritual eſtate, nor was able to withſtand the *Turk*, which argued inſufficiency to yield them protection in their temporal. The Emperour ſends his Embaſſador to the *Turk*, under notion of the King of *Hungary*, becauſe at his inſtalment as Emperour, he ſwears to make a perpetual War with the *Turk*; and indeed their peace is little better than a War, conſidering their frequent incurſions into each others Territories; and that to ſkirmiſh or fight in bodies under the number of 5000, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons into the Field, is no breach of the Capitulations.

The French King, though the firſt Chriſtian Prince, that having no confines bordering on theſe Dominions, entred into Capitulations with the *Turk* for a free and open Commerce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Podeſhaw*, which ſignifies as much as Emperour, and is denyed to all other Chriſtian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperour himſelf, being judged an honour amongſt the *Turks* proper and peculiar only to the Grand Signior: yet their eſteem of the *French* is not ſo great as ſome would perſwade the world it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample teſtimonies in the perſons of the Embaſſadours, their ſcorn and neglect of the Prince he repreſented. I have heard the wiſe Lord Chancellour *Samoſade* ſay, that the *French* gained that Title of *Podeſhaw* to their King by craft and ſubtilty, and was never fully examined nor conſidered; and in that buſineſs there is a ſtrange *Romance* told of a fair *French* Lady, preferred to the *Seraglio*, whom the *Turks* were willing to receive for a Princeſs, and thence challenging affinity with the King of *France*,

was

was the more profuſe in the honour of his Titles: It is true, there was a time when the *French* Embaſſadour was called to ſecret Councels, and admitted within the Walls of the *Seraglio* to private meetings and debates of the *Turk*; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly aſſiſted in tranſportation of the *Turks*, for the invaſion of *Italy*; but ſince that time, and eſpecially in the year 1664, through the force given the Emperour, and the Bravado upon *Barbary*, the *French* hath always (and that not without ſome reaſon) gone declining in the good opinion and eſteem in the *Ottoman* Court.

The *Pope* is more eſteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own power or force to effect any thing himſelf; and having no confines bordering on the *Turks*, his riches, power or greatneſs ſeldom falls as a ſubject for their conſideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain*, but that the *Granadin Turks*, of which there remains in *Conſtantinople* a conſiderable number ſince their expulſion, through an extream affection naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, diſcourſe of it with a paſſion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontado*, and vain-glory, vices incident to their Country; whereby they create in the *Turks* a conceit of the greatneſs, riches and force of *Spain*, according as it flouriſhed in the time that the *Moors* poſſeſſed their ſeat and habitation there. But yet the *Turks*, though a people incurious and negligent of the accurate ſtate of other places, beſides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the menaces from *France*, which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* Ports in *Dalmatia*, to have the better proſpect and eaſier paſſage unto *Sicily*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The eſteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongſt them, is greater than when the War firſt began; for then they entertained an opinion of their force much inferiour to the real eſtimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true ſtrength, making always calculates from the effect and ſucceſs of things. Yet the *Turk* knows, that the *Venetian* power is not comparable to his by land, and that nothing but *Friuli* ſtands between him and the maſtery of *Venice*; which makes him aſhamed and angry, that after ſo many years Wars, no greater additions ſhould be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candy*, the whole poſſeſſion of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would upon a bare demand been quietly preſented as the price and purchaſe of the peace.

The King of *Poland* is none of the leaſt amongſt the Chriſtian Princes eſteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reaſon of his great power, conſiſting chiefly in Horſe, which in opinion of the *Turks* is the moſt warlike; and look on that people as martial, and with much difficulty brought under their ſubjection. But by reaſon of the great combuſtions and inteſtine troubles of that Country, the *Polanders* apply themſelves with much dexterity and caution in their treaties with the *Turks*; and eſpecially, being borderers with them, and ſubject to their incurſions and robberies of Men and Cattel, they endeavour all means of fair and reaſonable complyance. And on the other ſide, the *Turk* is well inclined to the *Polander*, and deſires his proſperity beyond others of

his

his neighbour-Princes; becauſe he looks on him, as the only curb upon all occaſions of the *Moſcovites*, and whom they may make uſe of, to give ſome ſtop and arreſt unto the progreſs of his Arms.

The *Moſcovite* hath yet a greater fame and renown with the *Turks*, being reported able to make a hundred and fifty thouſand Horſe; ſo that he treats with the *Turk* on equal terms, and fills his Letters with high threats and Hyperbolical expreſſions of his power, and with as ſwelling Titles as the *Turk*. The *Greeks* have alſo an inclination to the *Moſcovite* beyond any other Chriſtian Prince, as being of their Rites and Religion, terming him their Emperour and Protector; from whom, according to ancient Propheſies and modern predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church. But the greateſt dread the *Turk* hath of the *Moſcovite*, is from the union with the *Soffi* or *Perſian*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a match for the *Ottoman* Empire.

But above all the great Potentates of the world, the King of *Perſia* was moſt feared and eſteemed by the *Turk*, not only by reaſon of his great force, and that the borders of his Dominions run a long ſpace on the confines of the *Turks*; but becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt Deſerts, and uninhabited places, to carry the War into his Country, without the cumberſome carriages of all neceſſary proviſions, which with how much difficulty and incommodity were performed in the laſt Wars between theſe two great Princes, the Hiſtory ſufficiently relates; but ſince the conqueſt of *Babylon*, and decay of their riches, they are now the ſubjects of the Turkiſh ſcorn and contempt. The neerneſs of their Faith, though derived from the ſame Founder, but afterwards receiving ſome difference by the interpretation of *Haly*, is in no wiſe a reconcilement of their affections; but rather a ground and matter of their fear and jealouſie, leſt at any time waging a War againſt the *Perſian*, that Hereſie ſhould begin to be ſet on foot amongſt the people, which like a ſpark that cauſes the conflagration of a whole City, may breed thoſe inteſtine civil diſtractions, which may prove of more danger and ruine than the former War. It will not be neceſſary to ſpeak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Reſident there, are ſcarce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *Engliſh*. And theſe are all the Nations conſiderable, with whom the Turk hath occaſion to treat, or that fall under his cogniſance or buſineſs.

CHAP. XXII.

The regard the Turks *have to their Leagues with Forreign Princes.*

AS the Chriſtian Religion teaches humility, charity, courteſie, and faith towards all that are within the pale of humane Nature, to be φιλόθεοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι; ſo the Turkiſh ſuperſtition furniſhes its followers with principles, not only to abhor the Doctrines, but alſo the perſons of ſuch whom they term not Believers. The ſordidneſs of their bloud, and ungentleneſs of their education, makes them inſolent and ſwelled in proſperity;

proſperity; and their Victories and Spoils upon Chriſtians, render the Arms and Force of other parts contemptible in reſpect of theirs.

Upon theſe conſiderations of the vileneſs of Chriſtianity, and ſcorn of their power, they aſſume this into a Maxime, that they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the reaſons and ground of a quarrel; whilſt the breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which conſequently infers the propagation of their Faith. Many and various are the examples and ſtories in all Ages, ſince the beginning and increaſe of the *Turkiſh* power, of the perfidiouſneſs and treachery of this people; that it may be a queſtion, whether their valour and force hath prevailed more in the time of War, or the little care of their faith and maintenance of their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace. Thus *Didymotichum* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the *Turks*, whilſt the Walls and Fortifications were Building, was by the *Aſian* Labourers, which were entertained in the work, and the help of other *Turks* which lay near in ambuſh, ſurpriſed and taken; ſo alſo *Rhodeſtum* in time of Peace by command of *Amurath*, was by *Eurenoſes* aſſaulted and taken by ſtratagem; ſo *Adrianople* in the reign of the ſame Emperour, after Peace made again, and aſſurances given of better faith, was by the art and diſguiſe of *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, pretending to be a diſcontented Captain and a Fugitive from the *Turks*, by fair Speeches and ſome Actions and Skirmiſhes abroad, gained ſuch confidence amongſt the credulous *Greeks*, as enabled him afterwards to ſet the Gates open to *Amurath's* Army, which after ſome Conflict was taken, and never recovered again by the power of the *Greeks*.

Now called *Rhodeſto.*

It is an old and practiſed ſubtilty of the *Turks*, immediately after ſome notable Misfortune to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Proviſions to proſecute the War. It is notable and worthy of Record, the treachery of the Treaty uſed in the year 1604. Begun in the time of *Mahomet* the third, and broken off by *Achmat* his Succeſſor. The overtures for a Treaty were firſt propounded by the *Turks*; and Commiſſioners from the Emperour appointed, and met the *Turks* at *Buda*; twelve days truce were concluded for conſideration of the Articles, and Preſents ſent by the *Turks* to the Emperour, to perſwade him of the reality of their intentions. *Mahomet* dying, *Sultan Achmat* renews his Commiſſion to the *Baſſa* of *Buda* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the Chriſtian and *Turks* Commiſſioners have another Meeting at *Peſth*; where whilſt the Chriſtians were courteouſly Feaſting the Infidels in Tents near the Town, and they to create in the Chriſtians an aſſurance of their faithful dealing, were producing Letters from their *Sultan* and Prime Viſier filled with Oaths and Proteſtations, as by the God of Heaven and Earth, by the Books of *Moſes*, by the ſouls of their Anceſtors, and the like, that their intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and juſt: At that very time the *Turks* of *Buda*, conceiving that in the time of this great jollity and confidence, the Walls of *Peſth* were neglected and ſlightly manned, iſſued out in great numbers to ſurprize it; the alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the *Turks* finding matters contrary to their expectation, returned only with the ſhame of their treachery.

It is no wonder the Diſciples ſhould in a point of ſo great liberty

and

and advantage follow the example and Doctrine of their Maſter; for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown, and repulſed at the ſiege of *Mecha*, made a firm League with the Inhabitants of ſtrict Peace and Amity: but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, eaſily ſurprized and took the City, whilſt that people relying on the late agreement, ſuſpected nothing leſs then the Prophets treachery. And that ſuch perfidiouſneſs as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in diſparagement of his Sanctity; he made it lawful for his Believers, in caſes of like nature, when the matter concerned thoſe who were Infidels, and of a different perſwaſion, neither to regard Promiſes, Leagues, or other Engagements; and this is read in the Book of the inſtitutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kitab Hadaia.*

It is the uſual form and cuſtom, when a noble advantage is eſpyed on any Country, with which they have not ſufficient ground of quarrel, to demand the opinion of the *Muftee*, for the lawfulneſs of War; who without conſulting other conſideration and judgment of the reaſonable occaſions, then the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing preſident of his Prophet, paſſes his *Fetfa* or ſentence; by which the War becomes warrantable, and the cauſe juſtified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongſt Chriſtian Princes and other the moſt gallant people of the world, advantages have been taken contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and ſlight pretences; and States have never wanted reaſons for the breach of Leagues, though confirmed by Oaths and all the Rites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked men; which in my opinion were more honourable to be out of queſtion.

But we never read that perfidiouſneſs by Act and Proclamation was allowable, or that it was holy to be faithleſs, until the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, by the example of their Prophet recorded and commanded this Leſſon, as a beneficial and uſeful Axiome to their Diſciples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in ſome Books of the Honeſty and Juſtice of the *Turks*, extolling and applauding them, as men accompliſhed with all the vertues of a moral life; thence ſeeming to infer that Chriſtianity it ſelf impoſes none of thoſe engagements of goodneſs on mens natures, as the Profeſſors of it do imagine. But ſuch men I believe, have neither read the Hiſtories, nor conſulted the rules of their Religion, nor practiſed their converſation; and in all points being ignorant of the truth of the *Turks* dealings, it is not ſtrange, if through a charitable opinion of what they know not, they erre in the apprehenſion and Character they paſs upon them.

THE

OF THE

Turkiſh Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Turks *in general.*

THe Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongſt the *Turks* are ſo confounded into one body, that we can ſcarce treat of one without the other; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately reſpects their Religion, and came with the ſame obligations and injunctions to obedience. And though this Politie was a Fiction of ſome, who firſt founded certain Governments, as *Numa Pompilius*, *Solon*, and the like, to put the greater engagements and ties on men, as well of conſcience, as through fear of puniſhment; yet in the general that propoſition is true, that all Laws which reſpect Right and Juſtice, and are tending to a foundation of good and honeſt Government, are of God; *For there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God.* And then if God owns the creation and conſtitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Chriſtians; the Tyrants, as the indulgent Fathers of their people and Country; no leſs doth he diſallow the Rules and Laws fitted to the conſtitution and Government of a people, giving no diſpenſation to their obedience, becauſe their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true reaſon, but the humour of their corrupted judgments or intereſt. Rom. 13.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Mahomet*, with the help of *Sergius* the Monk (and thence this ſuperſtition

is named *Mahometaniſm*) whoſe infamous life is recorded ſo particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here: and therefore we ſhall inſiſt, and take a view of the Rites, Doctrines and Laws of the *Turkiſh Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly be called the *Codes* and *Pandects* of the *Mahometan* conſtitutions.

The firſt is the *Alchoran*; the ſecond, the conſent or teſtimony of Wiſemen, called the *Aſſonah*, or the traditions of the Prophets; and the third, the inferences or deductions of one thing from another. *Mahomet* wrote the *Alchoran*, and preſcribed ſome Laws for the Civil Government: the other additions or ſuperſtructures were compoſed by their Doctors that ſucceeded, which were *Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Ozman* and *Haly*; the *Califfs* of *Babylon* and *Egypt*, were other Doctors and Expoſitors of their Law, whoſe ſentences and poſitions were of Divine Authority amongſt them; but their eſteem of being oraculous failing with their temporal power, that Dignity and Authority of infallible determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkiſh Mufti*. And though there is great diverſity amongſt the Doctors, as touching the explication of their Law; yet he is eſteemed a true Believer, who obſerves theſe five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every true *Turk* is obliged. The firſt is, cleanneſs in the outward parts of their body and garments. Secondly, to make Prayers five times a day. Thirdly, to obſerve the *Ramazan* or Monthly Faſt. Fourthly, to perform faithfully the *Zekat*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion preſcribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctors of theirs, called *Aſan*, *Embela*, &c. Fifthly, to make their Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, if they have means and poſſibility to perform it. But the Article of Faith required to be believed is but one, *viz.* that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet. Other Rites, as Circumciſion, obſervation of *Friday* for a day of Devotion, abſtinence from Swines fleſh, and from bloud, are not reckoned (as they ſay) amongſt the five principal points, becauſe they are enjoyned as tryals and proofs of a mans obedience to the more neceſſary Law.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometaniſm *in its Infancy promiſed to other Religions; and in what manner that agreement was afterwards obſerved.*

WHen *Mahometaniſm* was firſt weak, and therefore put on a modeſt Countenance and plauſible Aſpect to deceive mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with Chriſtianity, endued with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and eſtabliſhed within it ſelf with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firm profeſſion of the Faith, though greatly ſhaken by the Hereſies of *Arrius* and *Neſtorius*; yet it began to be guarded not only with its patience, long-ſuffering and hope, but alſo with the Fortifications, Arms and Protection of Emperors and Kings: ſo

that

that *Mahometaniſm* coming then on the diſadvantage, and having a hard game to play, either by the luſtre of graces, and good examples of a ſtrict life to out-ſhine Chriſtianity; or by a looſeneſs and indulgence to corrupt manners, to pervert men dedicated to Gods ſervice; or by cruelty or menaces to gain thoſe who accounted Martyrdom their greateſt glory, and were now alſo defended by the power of their own Princes; judges it beſt policy to make proffers of truce and peace between the Chriſtian and its own profeſſion: and therefore in all places where its arms were prevalent and proſperous, proclaimed a free toleration to all Religions; but eſpecially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Chriſtian, drawing its Tenents and Doctrines in ſome conformity to that rule, confeſſing Chriſt to be a Prophet, and greater then *Moſes*, that he was born of a Virgin; that *Mary* conceived by the ſmell of a Roſe; that the bleſſed Virgin was free from original ſin, and the temptations of the Devil; that Chriſt was the Word of God, and is ſo ſtyled in the *Alchoran*, and cured diſeaſes, raiſed the dead, and worked many miracles; and by his power, his Diſciples did the like: and I have heard ſome ſpeak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny Chriſts paſſion; ſaying, it were an impiety to believe that God who loved, and had conferred ſo much power, and ſo many graces on Chriſt, ſhould ſo far diſhonour him, as to deliver him into the hands of the Jews, who were the worſt and moſt ſcorned of men; or to the death of the Croſs, which was the moſt infamous and vile of all puniſhments.

In this manner they ſeemed to make a league with Chriſtianity, to be charitable, modeſt, and well wiſhers to its profeſſors; and *Mahomet* himſelf ſays in his *Alchoran* thus: O infidels, I do not adore what you adore, and you do not adore what I worſhip; obſerve you your law, and I will obſerve mine: And for a farther aſſurance of his toleration of Chriſtianity, and evidence to the world, that his intention was neither to perſecute nor extirpate their Religion; he made this following Compact, the Original of which was found in the Monaſtery of Fryars on Mount *Carmel*, near Mount *Libanus* (which is within one days journey of *Mecha*, and is the place where the *Mahometan* Pilgrims make their *Corban* or Sacrifice before they enter that City, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak of more at large) and, as it is ſaid, was tranſported to the Kings Library in *France*; which becauſe it is ancient, and of curioſity, it will not be impertinent to be inſerted here.

'*Mahomet* ſent from God to teach mankind, and declare the Divine 'Commiſſion in truth, wrote theſe things. That the cauſe of Chriſti-'an Religion determined by God, might remain in all parts of the 'Eaſt, and of the Weſt, as well amongſt the inhabitants, as ſtrangers, 'near and remote, known, and unknown: to all theſe people I leave 'this preſent writing, as an inviolable league, as a deciſion of all far-'ther controverſies, and a law whereby juſtice is declared, and ſtrict 'obſervance enjoyned. Therefore, whoſoever of the *Moſſelmans* Faith 'ſhall neglect to perform theſe things, and violate this league, and after 'the manner of Infidels break it, and tranſgreſs what I command here-'in, he breaks the Compact of God, reſiſts his agreement, and con-'temns his Teſtament, whether he be a King, or any other of the faith-

Moſſelman ſignifies a believer, and ſo the *Turks* call themſelves.

'full. By this agreement, whereby I have obliged my ſelf, and which 'the Chriſtians have required of me, and in my Name, and in the name 'of all my Diſciples, to enter into a Covenant of God with them, and 'League and Teſtament of the Prophets, Apoſtles elect, and faith-'ful Saints, and bleſſed of times paſt and to come. By this Covenant, 'I ſay, and Teſtament of mine (which I will have maintained with as 'much Religion, as a Prophet Miſſionary, or as an Angel next to the 'Divine Majeſty, is ſtrict in his obedience towards God, and in ob-'ſervance to his Law and Covenant) I promiſe to defend their 'Judges in my Provinces, with my Horſe and Foot, Auxiliaries, and 'other my faithful Followers; and to preſerve them from their Ene-'mies, whether remote or near, and ſecure them both in peace and 'war: and to protect their Churches, Temples, Oratories, Monaſte-'ries, and places of Pilgrimage, whereſoever ſcituated, whether in 'Mountain or Valley, Cavern or Houſe, a Plain, or upon the Sand, or 'in what ſort of Edifice ſoever: alſo to preſerve their Religion and 'their goods in what part ſoever they are, whether at Land or Sea, 'Eaſt or Weſt, even as I keep my ſelf and my Scepter, and the faithful 'believers of my own people. Likewiſe, to receive them into my 'protection from all harm, vexation, offence and hurt. Moreover, to 'repel thoſe enemies which are offenſive to them and me, and ſtoutly 'to oppoſe them both in my own perſon, by my ſervants, and all others 'of my people and Nation. For ſince I am ſet over them, I ought to 'preſerve and defend them from all adverſity, and that no evil touch 'them before it firſt afflict mine, who labour in the ſame work. I 'promiſe farther to free them from thoſe burthens which confederates 'ſuffer, either by lones of money or impoſitions; ſo that they ſhall be 'obliged to pay nothing but what they pleaſe, and no moleſtation or 'injury ſhall be offered them herein. A Biſhop ſhall not be removed 'from his Dioceſs, or a Chriſtian compelled to renounce his faith, 'or a Monk his profeſſion, or a Pilgrim diſturbed in his Pilgrimage, 'or a Religious man in his Cell: Nor ſhall their Churches be deſtroy-'ed, or converted into Moſques: for whoſoever doth ſo break this 'Covenant of God, oppoſes the Meſſenger of God, and fruſtrates the 'Divine Teſtament. No impoſition ſhall be laid upon Fryars or Bi-'ſhops, nor any of them who are not lyable to Taxes, unleſs it be with 'their own conſent. And the Tax which ſhall be required from rich 'Merchants, and from Fiſhermen of their Pearl, from Miners of their 'Precious Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich and opulent 'Chriſtians, ſhall not exceed above 12 ſhillings yearly; and it ſhall 'alſo be from them who are conſtant inhabitants of the place, and 'not from Travellers, and Men of an uncertain abode; for they ſhall 'not be ſubject to impoſitions or contributions, unleſs they are poſ-'ſeſſors of inheritance of Land or Eſtate; for he which is lawfully 'ſubject to pay money to the Emperour, ſhall pay as much as another, 'and not more; nor more required from him, above his faculty and 'ſtrength. In like manner, he that is taxed for his Land, Houſes or 'Revenue, ſhall not be burthened immoderately, nor oppreſſed with 'greater Taxes then any others that pay contribution: Nor ſhall the 'confederates be obliged to go to War with the *Moſſelmans* againſt 'their Enemies, either to fight or diſcover their Armies, becauſe it is

'not

'not of duty to a confederate, to be imployed in Military affairs; 'but rather this Compact is made with them, that they may be the leſs 'oppreſſed; but rather the *Moſſelmans* ſhall watch, and ward, and de- 'fend them: And therefore, that they be not compelled to go forth to 'fight, or encounter the Enemy, or find Horſe or Arms, unleſs they 'voluntarily furniſh them; and he who ſhall thus willingly contri- 'bute, ſhall be recompenſed and rewarded. No *Moſſelman* ſhall inſeſt 'the Chriſtians, nor contend with them in any thing but in kindneſs, 'but treat them with all courteſie, and abſtain from all oppreſſion or 'violence towards them. If any Chriſtian commit a crime or fault, it 'ſhall be the part of the *Moſſelman* to aſſiſt him, intercede and give 'caution for him, and compound for his miſcarriage; liberty ſhall al- 'ſo be given him to redeem his life, nor ſhall he be forſaken, nor be de- 'ſtitute of help, becauſe of the Divine Covenant which is with them, 'that they ſhould enjoy what the *Moſſelmans* enjoy, and ſuffer what 'they ſuffer: and on the other ſide, that the *Moſſelmans* enjoy what 'they enjoy, and ſuffer what they ſuffer. And according to this Co- 'venant, which is by the Chriſtians juſt requeſt, and according to that 'endeavour which is ſo required for confirmation of its Authority, 'you are obliged to protect them from all calamity, and perform all 'offices of good will towards them, ſo that the *Moſſelmans* may be ſha- 'rers with them in proſperity and adverſity. Moreover, all care ought 'to be had, that no violence be offered to them, as to matters relating 'to marriage, *viz.* That they compel not the Parents to match their 'Daughters with *Moſſelmans*: Nor ſhall they be moleſted for refuſal, 'either to give a Bridegroom or a Bride; for this is an act wholly vo- 'luntary, depending on their free will and pleaſure. But if it happen 'that a Chriſtian Woman ſhall joyn with a *Moſſelman*, he is obliged to 'give her liberty of conſcience in her Religion, that ſhe may obey her 'Ghoſtly Father, and be inſtructed in the Doctrines of her Faith with- 'out impediment; therefore he ſhall not diſquiet her, either by threat- 'ning divorce, or by ſollicitations to forſake her Faith: but if he 'ſhall be contrary hereunto, and moleſt her herein, he deſpiſes the 'Covenant of God, rebels againſt the Compact of the Meſſenger of 'God, and is entred into the number of lyars. Moreover, when Chri- 'ſtians would repair their Churches or Convents, or any thing elſe ap- 'pertaining unto their Worſhip, and have need of the liberality and 'aſſiſtance of the *Moſſelmans* hereunto, they ought to contribute, and 'freely to beſtow according to their ability; not with intention to re- 'ceive it again, but *gratis*; and as a good will towards their Faith, and 'to fulfil the Covenant of the Meſſenger of God, conſidering the obli- 'gation they have to perform the Covenant of God, and the compact of 'the Meſſenger of God. Nor ſhall they oppreſs any of them living 'amongſt the *Moſſelmans*, nor hate them, nor compel them to carry 'Letters, or ſhew the way, or any other manner force them: for he 'which exerciſes any manner of this Tyranny againſt them is an oppreſ- 'ſor, and an adverſary to the Meſſenger of God, and refractory to his 'Precepts. Theſe are the Covenants agreed between *Mahomet* the 'Meſſenger of God, and Chriſtians. But the conditions on which I 'bind theſe Covenants on their Conſciences, are theſe: That no Chri- 'ſtian give any entertainment to a Souldier, enemy to the *Moſſelmans*,

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'or receive him in his houſe publickly or privately; that they re-
'ceive none of the Enemies of the *Moſſelmans*, as ſojourners into their
'Houſes, Churches or religious Convents; nor under-hand furniſh the
'Camp of their Enemies with Arms, Horſe, Men, or maintain any inter-
'courſe or correſpondence with them, by contracts or writing; but
'betaking themſelves to ſome certain place of abode, ſhall attend to
'the preſervation of themſelves, and to the defence of their Religion.
'To any *Moſſelman* and his Beaſts, they ſhall give three days enter-
'tainment with variety of Meat; and moreover, ſhall endeavour to
'defend them from all misfortune and trouble; ſo that if any *Moſſel-*
'*man* ſhall be deſirous, or be compelled to conceal himſelf in any of
'their houſes or habitations, they ſhall friendly hide him, and deliver
'him from the danger he is in, and not betray him to his Enemy: and
'in this manner the Chriſtians performing Faith on their ſide, who-
'ſoever violates any of theſe conditions, and doth contrarily, ſhall be
'deprived of the benefits contained in the Covenant of God and his
'Meſſenger; nor ſhall he deſerve to enjoy theſe priviledges indulged
'to Biſhops and Chriſtian Monks, and to the believers of the contents
'of the *Alchoran*. Wherefore I do conjure my people by God and
'his Prophet to maintain theſe things faithfully, and fulfil them, in
'what part ſoever of the world they are. And the Meſſenger of God
'ſhall recompence them for the ſame; the perpetual obſervation of
'which he ſeriouſly recommends to them, until the day of judgment,
'and diſſolution of the world. Of theſe conditions which *Mahomet*
'the Meſſenger of God hath agreed with the Chriſtians, and hath en-
'joyned, the witneſſes were

'*Abu Bacre Aſſadiqu, Omar ben-alcharab.*
'*Ithman ben Afaw, Ati ben abi-taleb,*

'with a number of others; the Secretary was *Moavia ben abi Soſian*,
'a Souldier of the Meſſenger of God, the laſt day of the Moon of the
'fourth Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in *Medina*. May God
'remunerate thoſe who are witneſſes to this writing. Praiſe be to
'God the Lord of all creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Chriſtians (howſoever denyed by the *Turks* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by very good Authors taken for real, and to have been at that time confirmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he Warred with the *Arabians*: and fearing likewiſe the enmity of the Chriſtians (not to be aſſaulted by two Enemies at once) ſecured himſelf by this religious League, made in the Monaſtery of *Fryars*, in Mount *Carmel*, from whence that ſtrict Order have their denomination. But mark how well *Mahomet* in the ſequel obſerved this Law: As ſoon as his Government increaſed, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had ſecured his Kingdom, he writes his Chapter of the Sword, called ſo perhaps becauſe the firſt words of it are often engraved on the *Turks* Cymeters made at *Damaſcus*, and on their Bucklers and other ſorts of Arms: And another Chapter in the *Alchoran*, called the Chapter of Battel (which is always read by the *Turks* before they go to fight) and therein his modeſt words (if you adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to you, and mine to me) and other promiſes of toleration and indulgence to the Chriſtian Religion, were changed to a harſher note; and his

Edicts

Edicts were then for bloud and ruine, and enſlavement of Chriſtians: When you meet with Infidels, ſaith he, cut off their heads, kill them, take them priſoners, bind them, until either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ranſom; and forbear not to perſecute them, until they have laid down their Arms and ſubmitted. And this is that ſort of toleration the *Turks* give to the Chriſtian Religion; they know they cannot force mens Wills, nor captivate their Conſciences, as well as their bodies; but what means may be uſed to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the intereſt of their Religion weak and deſpicable, are practiſed with divers Arts and Tyranny, that their toleration of Chriſtianity is rather to afflict and perſecute it, than any grant of favour or diſpenſation.

The *Mahometan* Religion tolerates Chriſtian Churches and Houſes of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a ſtone in a new place Conſecrated to Divine Service; nor if Fire, or any accident deſtroy the Superſtructure, may a new ſtrength be added to the foundation, wherewith to under-prop it for another Building; ſo that at laſt the Chriſtian Churches in thoſe Dominions muſt neceſſarily come to ruine, as many already have ſubmitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* firſt, and then of *Conſtantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Chriſtian Churches and Chappels were brought to Aſhes; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Chriſtians ſcarce re-edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being adjudged contrary to the Turkiſh Law, to permit Churches again to be reſtored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkiſh Religion *is propagated.*

THe *Turks*, though they offer the ſpecious out-ſide of the foregoing toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce mens conſciences to the profeſſion of their Faith; and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk*, his Children under the age of fourteen years, though Educated with other principles, muſt be forced to the ſame perſwaſion. Men that ſpeak againſt the *Mahometan* Law, that have raſhly promiſed at a time of diſtraction or drunkenneſs to become *Turks*, or have had carnal knowledge of a Turkiſh Woman, muſt either become Martyrs or Apoſtates; beſides many other ſubtilties they have to entrap the ſouls of Chriſtians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policie wherewith the *Mahometan* Sect hath been encreaſed, the accounting it a principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortreſs by conſent or voluntary ſurrender, where *Moſques* have been once built, and *Mahometaniſm* profeſſed. And therefore the *Turk* no ſooner enters a Town by Conqueſt, but immediately lays foundations for his Temples, thereby impoſing an obligation of an obſtinate

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and conſtant reſolution on the conſcience of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the ſpirits of men, than all the terrors and miſeries of Famine, Sword or other calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different intereſts Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* were introduced into the world; the firſt had no other enforcements, than the perſwaſions and Sermons of a few poor Fiſhermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; carrying before it the promiſes of another life, and conſiderations of a glorified ſpirituality in a ſtate of ſeparation; but the way to it was obſtructed with the oppoſition of Emperours and Kings, with ſcorn and contempt, with perſecution and death; and this was all the encouragement propoſed to mankind to embrace this Faith: but *Mahometaniſm* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not unty, he cut, and made his ſpiritual power as large as his temporal; made his precepts eaſie and pleaſant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar: repreſenting Heaven to them, not in a ſpiritual manner, or with delights unexpreſſible, and raviſhments known only in part to illuminated ſouls; but with groſs conceptions of the beauty of Women with great eyes, of the duration of one act of carnal copulation for the ſpace of ſixty years, and of the beaſtly ſatisfaction of a gluttonous palate; things abſurd and ridiculous to wiſe and knowing men; but yet capable to draw multitudes of profeſſors, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational to the better ſort of judgments, cauſes the Lawyers, who are men of the ſubtileſt capacities amongſt the *Turks*, to miſtruſt much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mahomet*; eſpecially the aſſertions relating to the condition of the other life. For the repreſentation of the delights of the next world, in a corporeal and ſenſual manner, being inconſiſtent with their reaſon, leads them to doubt the truth of that point; and ſo wavering with one ſcruple, proceed to a miſtruſt of the whole Syſtem of the *Mahometans* faith. One would think that in ſuch men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more ſolid principles and foundations; and that the Jews might gain ſuch Proſelytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition was borrowed; or that the Chriſtians might take advantage in ſo well-diſpoſed ſubjects, to produce ſomething of the Myſtery of Godlineſs: But the firſt are a people ſo obnoxious to ſcorn and contempt, eſteemed by the *Turks* to be the ſcum of the world, and the worſt of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with thoſe, to whom their very perſons and bloud are vile and deteſtable; nor is it likely the Chriſtians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, until they acquit themſelves of the ſcandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches ſeem to accuſe them of in the eyes and judgment of the *Turks*, who are not verſed in the ſubtile diſtinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and reſtrictions of that worſhip, and the evaſions of their Doctors, matters not only ſufficient to puzzle and diſtract the groſs heads of *Turks*, but to ſtrain the wits of learned Chriſtians to clear them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpoſe. The propagation of the *Mahometan* faith

faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword; that perſwaſion and principle in their Catechiſm, that the ſouls of thoſe who die in the Wars againſt the Chriſtians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other works, are immediately tranſported to Paradiſe, muſt neceſſarily whet the Swords and raiſe the ſpirits of the Souldiers; which is the reaſon that ſuch Multitudes of them (as we read in Hiſtory) run evidently to their own ſlaughter, eſteeming their lives and bodies at no greater price then the value of ſtones and rubbiſh to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but erect a Bridge or paſſage for their fellows to aſſault their enemies.

The ſucceſs of the *Mahometan* arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their faith, and made it a principle; that whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Author; and by how much more ſucceſſeful have been their Wars, by ſo much the more hath God been an owner of their cauſe and Religion. And the ſame argument (if I am not miſtaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made uſe of by many, to intitle God to their cauſe, and make him the Author of their thriving ſin, becauſe their wickedneſs proſpered, and could trample on all holy and humane rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romaniſts* have judged the afflictions and almoſt ſubverſion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of Gods deſertion and diſclaim of her profeſſion, forgetting the Perſecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in ſorrow and eſtabliſhed with patience and paſſive graces; but theſe men rather then want an argument, their malice will uſe the weapons of Infidels to oppugn the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* ſo horribly deteſt and abhor the Jews, calling them the forſaken of God, becauſe they are Vagabonds over all the world, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the beſt enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a Jew to become a *Turk*, but by turning a Chriſtian firſt, as a nearer ſtep and previous diſpoſition to the *Muſſulman* faith; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Renegado Jew into their Cemeteries or places of burial; and the Jews on the other ſide diſowning any ſhare or part in him, his loathed Carcaſs is thrown into ſome Grave diſtant from other Sepulchers, as unworthy the Society of all mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The power and office of the Mufti's, *and of their Government in Religious Matters.*

THe *Mufti* is the principal head of the *Mahometan* Religion or Oracle of all doubtful queſtions in the Law, and is a perſon of great eſteem and reverence amongſt the *Turks*; his election is ſolely in the Grand Signior, who chuſes a man to that office alwayes famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his vertues and ſtrictneſs of life; his Authority is ſo great amongſt them, that when he paſſes judgment or determination in any point, the Grand Signior himſelf will in no wiſe contradict or oppoſe it.

His power is not compulſory, but only reſolving and perſwaſive in matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State: his manner of reſolves is by writing; the queſtion being firſt ſtated in Paper briefly and ſuccinctly, he underneath ſubſcribes his ſentence by Yes, or No, or in ſome other ſhort determination called a *Fetfa*, with addition of theſe words, God knows better; by which it is apparent that the determinations of the *Mufti* are not eſteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadee* or Judge, his judgement is certainly regulated according thereunto, and Law Suits of the greateſt moment concluded in an hour, without Arreſts of judgement, appeals, or other dilatory Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in condemnation of any great man to death, or in making War or Peace, or other important affairs of the Empire; either to appear the more juſt and religious, or to incline the people more willingly to obedience. And this practice is uſed in buſineſs of greateſt moment; ſcarce a Viſier is proſcribed, or a *Paſhaw* for pretence of crime diſplaced, or any matter of great alteration or change deſigned; but the Grand Signior arms himſelf with the *Mufti*'s ſentence; for the nature of man repoſes more ſecurity in innocence and actions of juſtice, then in the abſolute and uncontrouleable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, though he himſelf is above the Law, and is the Oracle and Fountain of Juſtice, yet it is ſeldome that he proceeds ſo irregularly to contemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of deciſion in all their controverſies.

But ſometimes perhaps Quæries are ſent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufti*, which he cannot reſolve with ſatisfaction of his own conſcience, and the ends of the *Sultan*; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment; In this caſe the *Mufti* is fairly diſmiſſed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may reſolve the difficult demands with a more favourable ſentence; if not, he is degraded like the former, and ſo the next, until one is found apt to propheſie according to what may beſt agree with the intereſt of his Maſter. This Office was in paſt-times eſteemed more ſacred by the *Ottoman* Princes then at preſent; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterprize ſet on foot, but firſt like the Oracle or *Augur*, his determination with great reverence was required as that without which no bleſſing or ſucceſs could be expected; but in theſe dayes they are more remiſs in this manner of conſultation; ſometimes it it is done for formality; but moſt commonly the Prime Viſier conceited of his own judgement and Authority aſſumes the power to himſelf, and perhaps firſt does the thing, and afterwards demands the approbation of it by the ſence of the Law.

And herein the *Mufti* hath a ſpacious Field for his Interpretations; for it is agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of expoſitions according to times and ſtate of things: And though they preach to the people the perfection of their *Alchoran*; yet the wiſer men hold, that the *Mufti* hath an expoſitory power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the ſtate of things, times and conveniences of the Empire; for that their Law was never deſigned to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of Faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore

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to be interpreted in the largeſt and fartheſt fetched ſenſe, when the ſtrict words will not reach the deſign intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Mufti*, what rule ſhould be obſerved in the devotion of a *Turk* carried Slave into the Northern parts of the world, where in Winter is but one hour of day, how he might poſſibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours; *viz.* Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunſet, and at an hour and half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour admitted of none of theſe diſtinctions; for reſolution of which, the *Mufti* anſwered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alchoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making ſhort prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complyed with.

Another queſtion of the ſame nature was propoſed to the *Mufti*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecha*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, eſpecially ſuch bad Geographers as commonly the *Turks* are, it is poſſible to comply with that neceſſary formality required in their devotion; the *Mufti* reſolved this doubt almoſt like the former, preſcribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot miſs of having at ſome time their faces towards the Holy City, which in a caſe of ſo much difficulty is a ſufficient compliance with the duty.

Many caſes of this nature are propoſed to the *Mufti*; and many particular rules of conſcience required, one of which is remarkable, that *Busbequius* relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between the Emperour of *Germany*, and *Sultan Solyman*: whether a few Chriſtians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many *Turks* in the hand of the Emperour. It ſeems the *Mufti* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the reſolution; for ſometimes it ſeemed a diſeſteem to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Chriſtian; on the other ſide, it appeared want of charity and care of the intereſt of the *Moſſelmans* to neglect real terms of advantage on ſuch airy and ſubtle points of formality. In fine he conſulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authors of great authority of contradictory opinions in this controverſie; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had moſt of favour & mercy in it. The *Mufti* whilſt qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but firſt degraded, and then becomes liable to the ſtroke of the Executioner; but in caſes of notorious crimes or conviction of Treaſon, he is put into a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Priſon called the ſeven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the breaking and contuſion of all his bones and fleſh.

The next office to the *Mufti* is *Kadeleſchere* or Judge of the Militia, otherwiſe Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatſoever; for this priviledge the Souldiery of this Country enjoys, to have a power extenſive over all other conditions of people, but to be only ſubject themſelves to the Government of their own Officers; this office a *Mufti* muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and diſcharge with approbation before he aſcends the top and height of his Preferment.

Mollah. The next inferiour degree is a *Mollah*; and theſe are of two ſorts, one of three hundred Aſpers, and the other of five hundred Aſpers, ſo called for diſtinction ſake; the firſt ſort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadees* of poor and inconſiderable places; the others have their juriſdiction over the whole dominion of a *Beglerbeg*, and have the *Kadees* of ſeveral rich and renowned places under their Government: theſe riſe often to the *Mufti*'s office, but proceed by ſeveral degrees and ſteps, and muſt firſt gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as firſt to be *Mollah* in *Pruſa*, then in *Adrianople*, and laſtly in *Conſtantinople*, at which time he is next to the office of *Kadeleſchere*, and thence to that of the *Mufti*.

Theſe and *Kadees* which are the lower and ordinary ſort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Mufti* himſelf; for as I have ſaid before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be deriv'd from their Prophet, and the other Expoſitors of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as theſe which immediately concern the Divine Worſhip; and therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emaums* or Parochial Prieſts, muſt be able to read in the *Alchoran*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongſt their neighbours, before they can be promoted to this Function, and muſt be one of thoſe who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating thoſe words, *Allah ekber, Allah ekber, Eſchedu enla Ilahe ilallah we eſcheda enne Mahammed evveſul: cuah Fleie ala Selah heie ala Felah Allah ekber, allah ekber, la Ilahe ilallah*; that is, God is great, God is great, I profeſs that there is no Deity but God, and confeſs that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God; in this manner the people of a Pariſh recommending any one to the Prime Viſier, declaring that the former *Emaum* is dead, and the office Vacant, and that this perſon is qualified in all points to the Function, or better and more knowing then the preſent Incumbent; he receives immediate induction and eſtabliſhment in the place; but for better proof or tryal of the truth of the teſtimony that accompanies him, he is enjoyned to read in preſence of the Viſier ſome part of the *Alchoran*, which being done, he is diſmiſſed and approved, and takes the Viſiers *Teſchere* or *Mandamus* for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emaum*; for there is no new Character or ſtate of Prieſt-hood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different ſort diſtinguiſhed from the people by holy Orders or Rites, but meerly by the preſent office they manage; when being diſplaced, they are again numbred with the Laity: their habit is nothing different from others, but only that they wear a larger Turbant like the Lawyers, with ſome little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave and ſerious countenance. Their office is to call the people to prayers, and at due hours to be their leader into the *Moſque*, and to read and repeat upon Fridays certain Sentences or Verſes out of the *Alchoran*; few of them adventure to Preach, unleſs he be well conceited or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Soigh*, or him that make Preaching his Profeſſion, who is one commonly that paſſes his time in the Convents, that we ſhall hereafter treat.

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The *Mufti* hath no juriſdiction over the *Emaums*, as to the good order or Government of the Pariſhes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchie as to rule amongſt them; every one being Independent and without controul in his own Pariſh, excepting his ſubjection in Civil and Criminal Cauſes to the chief Magiſtrates, and conſidering the manner of their deſignation to the Religious office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their ſingle Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unaptly ſeem to ſquare with the Independency in *England*, from which original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly in eſteem amongſt them, as is apparent by the Title they uſe towards them in their writings and commands, directed to them in this manner; You that are the glory of the Judges and Sage men, the profound Mines of Eloquence and Excellence, may your Wiſdom and Ability be augmented.

CHAP. V.

Of the Mufti's *Revenue, and from whence it doth ariſe.*

AFter the *Mufti* is Elected, there is no Ceremony uſed in his Inveſtiture then this: he preſents himſelf before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Veſt of rich Sables of a thouſand Dollars price, and a thouſand more he preſents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers with his own hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment doubled over his breaſt, and beſtows on him a Salary of two thouſand Aſpers a day, which is about five pound Sterling mony; beſides which he hath no certain Revenue, unleſs it be the power of Preferment to ſome Prebendaries or Benefices of certain Royal *Moſques*, which he ſells and diſpoſes of as is beſt to his advantage without the ſcruple of corruption or Simony.

By the ſentences he gives which they call *Fetfas*, he receives not one Aſper benefit; though every *Fetfa* coſts eight Aſpers, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers; that is, to his *Muſewedegi*, or he who ſtates the queſtion, is paid five Aſpers; to his *Mumeiz*, or he who Copies or tranſcribes the queſtion fair, two Aſpers; to him that keeps the Seal, one Aſper.

Other benefits the *Mufti* hath little, excepting only that at his firſt entrance to his office, he is ſaluted by all Embaſſadours and Reſidents for foreign Princes; as alſo the Agents of ſeveral *Paſhaws* reſiding at the Port, none of which come empty-handed, but offer their accuſtomed preſents, by which he collects at leaſt fifty thouſand Dollars.

When any *Mufti* is deprived of his Office without any other motive then the pleaſure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpalik*, which is the diſpoſal of ſome judical Preferments in certain Provinces and the ſuperintendency of them, from which he gathers a competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And becauſe he is a Perſon whoſe advice and counſel is of great

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Authority with the Grand Signior and Viſier, and that his word and candid report of matters is conſiderable, and his favour in ſentences very eſtimable; he is therefore courted by all the Grandees of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchaſing the affection of a *Turk*, then by force of preſents, which have more of power in them, then all other obligations or merits in the world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Emirs.

Emir Bashee or Head of Mahometans

WE may here bring in the *Emirs*, otherwiſe called *Enlad Reſul*, into the number of the Religious men, becauſe they are of the race of *Mahomet*, who for diſtinction ſake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea-green which is the Colours of their Prophet; out of reverence to his eſteemed holy blood, many priviledges are indulged by the ſecular Authority, that they cannot be vilified, affronted or ſtrook by a *Turk* upon forfeiture of his right hand; but leſt they ſhould be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superiour

riour amongſt them called *Nakib Eſchref*, who hath his Serjeants or Officers under him, and is endued with ſo abſolute a power over them, that as he pleaſes it extends both to Life and Death; but he never will give the ſcandal to this holy ſeed to execute or puniſh them publickly. And though few of them can derive his Genealogie clearly from *Mahomet*; yet thoſe who can but only pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedigree; as often as the *Nakib* deſires to favour any Perſon, or can have any colour to acquire a new ſubject; and then to clear all ſcruple from the world, he gives him a Tree of his linage and deſcent. The *Turks* being well acquainted with this abuſe, carry the leſs reſpect to the whole Generation; ſo that as often as they find any of them drunk or diſordered, they make no ſcruple to take off their Green Turbants firſt, Kiſſing them and laying them aſide with all Reverence, and afterwards beat them without reſpect or Mercy.

Their ſecond Officer is called *Alemdar*, who carries the Green Flag of *Mahomet*, when the Grand Signior appears with any ſolemnity in publick, they are capable of any offices; few of them exerciſe any Trade, unleſs that which is *Eſirgi*, or one who deals in Slaves, to which ſort of Traffick this Sainted off-ſpring is greatly addicted, as being a holy profeſſion to captivate and enſlave Chriſtians. Theſe are the moſt abominable *Sodomites* and abuſers of Maſculine youth in the world, in which ſin againſt nature they exceed the foulneſs and deteſtable luſt of a *Tartar*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the endowments of Royal Moſches, *and in what manner Tithes are given for Maintenance of their Prieſts and Religion.*

An Emaum or Parish Prieſt of one of the Royall Moschs.

THe *Turks* are very Magnificent in their *Moſches*, and Edifices erected to the honour and ſervice of God, and not only in the Buildings, but in the endowments of them, with a Revenue which Records the Memory of the Donor to all Poſterity, and relieves many poor who daily repeat prayers for the ſouls of ſuch who dyed with a perſwaſion that they have need of them after their deceaſe; for thoſe I ſay who dye of that belief, for the condition of the ſoul, until the day of judgement is controverted amongſt the *Turks*, and the queſtion not decided as a matter of faith, or as revealed or determined by the *Alchoran*. For ſo large benevolence is given to places deſtined to Gods ſervice, that as ſome compute, one third of the Lands of the whole Empire are allotted and ſet out to a holy uſe; much to the ſhame of thoſe who pretend to the name of Chriſtians, and yet judge the ſmalleſt proportion

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tion to be too large a competence for thoſe who ſerve at the Altar.

The principal *Moſchs* and thoſe of richeſt endowment (as in all reaſon ought) are thoſe of Royal Foundations, called in *Turkiſh Selatin Giameleri*; over which the Prime Superintendent is the *Kuzlir Agæ*, or the chief Black Eunuch of the *Sultans* Woman; and in his power it is to diſtribute all conſiderable offices of Eccleſiaſtical Preferment relating to the Royal *Moſchs*, which office makes a conſiderable addition to his other power and Revenue: for there are many of thoſe *Moſchs* in divers places of the Empire; but eſpecially where the *Sultans* do or have reſided, as *Pruſa*, *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*.

The Royal *Moſchs* of *Conſtantinople* are *Santa Sophia*, *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City. *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selin*, *Sultan Solyman*, *Schezade* or the Son of *Sultan Solyman*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Moſchs* built by the Queen Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly indowed by the Mother of this preſent *Sultan*.

I ſhall ſcarce adventure to acquaint my Reader with the particular Revenue belonging to all theſe Royal Edifices, but certain it is they have Rents as noble and ſplendid as their Founders; for Example of which, I ſhall inſtance only in that of *Santa Sophia*, built by *Juſtinian* the Emperour, and re-built by *Theodoſius*, and was the Metropolis of old *Bizantium*, and the Mother Church belonging to the Patriarchal See of *Greece*, is ſtill conſerved ſacred and ſeparated for uſe of Divine Service; of the Revenue of which *Mahometan* Barbariſm and Superſtition hath made no Sacrilegious Robbery, but maintained and improved and added to it, in that manner that the in-come may equal any Religious foundation of Chriſtendom; for when I had the Curioſity of procuring from the Regiſters of that Church, diſtinctly all the particular Gifts, Benefices, Lands, Monies at intereſt, and other endowments belonging thereunto, and offered according to my ability ſomething conſiderable, to have a true Copy of the riches and annual Rent of the place; the Keepers of thoſe Liſts would perſwade me (whether out of oſtentation, or ſcruple of ſin to make one of my faith acquainted with the particulars of their Religious offerings) that the Wealth, rent and account of all thoſe Royal endowments are ſo many, that as they are diſtinctly ſet down, fill a Volume, and the knowledge of them is the ſtudy alone of thoſe who are deſigned to this ſervice; but in general I am given to underſtand, by thoſe who magnifie not matters beyond their due computation: That the Revenue amounts to about one hundred thouſand *Zechins* a year; which proceeds not from any Lands or Duties raiſed without the Walls of the City, but all from within; the *Sultan* himſelf being a Tenant to that place, paying or acknowledging a Rent of one thouſand and one Aſpers a day for the ground which the *Seraglio* ſtands on, being in times of the Chriſtian Emperours ſome part of the Sanctuary or Gardens dedicated to the uſe of that ſtately Temple, which the *Turks* eſteemed Sacrilegious to ſeparate entirely from the holy Service to which it was aſſigned; though the admirable ſituation thereof rendred it unfit for other habitation, then the enjoyment of the *Sultan*; did therefore think fit to oblige the Land to a Rent, adding the odde Aſper as a ſignification, that the thouſand Aſpers were not a ſufficient conſideration for the uſe of the Church Lands; and might therefore be augmented as the piety

and devotion of ſucceeding Emperours ſhould move them.

It is reported by the *Turks*, that *Conſtantinople* was taken upon a *Wedneſday*; and that on the *Friday* following (which is their *Sunday* or *Sabbath* as we may call it) the victorious *Sultan* then firſt entituled Emperour, went with all Magnificent Pomp and Solemnity to pay his Thankſgiving and Devotions at the Church of *Sancta Sophia*; the Magnificence of which ſo pleaſed him, that he immediately added a yearly Rent of 10000 *Zechins* to the former endowments, for the maintenance of *Imams* or Prieſts, Doctors of their Law, *Talismans* and others, who continually attend there for the Education of youth, teaching them to read and write, inſtructing them alſo in the principles of their Law and Religion.

Other Emperours have ſince that time, erected near unto it their *Turbem* or Chappels of Burial, in one of which lies *Sultan Selim*, ſirnamed *Sarboſe*, or the drunken, with his hundred Children; and therewith have conferred a maintenance of Oyl for Lamps and Candles which burn day and night, and a proviſion for thoſe who attend there in prayer for their ſouls departed; to which opinion the *Turks* (as I have ſaid already) are generally inclinable, though not Preached or inforced on any mans belief as an Article of Faith. Over and above this expence, there is daily proviſion made for relief of a multitude of poor, who at certain hours appear at the Gates of this Temple, and receive their daily ſuſtenance; whatſoever advances, as yearly great ſums are laid up in the Treaſury, is numbred with the riches of the *Moſch*, and remains for the ſervice of that place, as for the reparation, or building thereof, in caſe of fire or other accidents.

Beſides the ſumptuous Edifices of the body of the Royal *Moſchs*, there are annexed unto them certain Colledges for Students in the Law called *Tehmele*, out-houſes for Kitchins, where the poors Meat is dreſſed, Hoſpitals called *Timarhanelar*, *Hans*, or Houſes of Lodging for Strangers or Travellers, publick Fountains, ſhops for Artizans, and whole Streets of low Cottages for habitation of the poor, whoſe ſtock reaches not to a higher Rent.

All theſe appendages bring ſome Revenue to the *Moſch*, which is conſtantly paid in to the Rector or Preſident thereof, called *Mutevelli*; but becauſe this is not a ſufficient maintenance, there are divers Lands, Villages, Mountains, Woods and whole Countries aſſigned to this uſe called *Wakfi*, which are hired out at certain Rents for the behoof and benefit of the *Moſchs*; ſome rents being paid in Corn, others in Oyl, and all ſorts of Proviſions; and out of every new Conquered Country, ſome part thereof is aſſigned to the uſe of *Moſchs* of modern Fabrick; as now from the Country gained lately about *Newhauſell* (which as I am informed from thoſe who gave in the account to the Grand Signior, there are two thouſand Villages which pay Contribution to the *Turk*) are aſſigned certain Lands for encreaſe of the rent of the *Moſchs* built at *Conſtantinople* by this preſent Queen Mother: which rents are ſometimes raiſed by the way of Tenths or Tithes, not that the *Turks* make Tithes a duty or rule for the maintenance of perſons, places and things conſecrated to Divine Service, but as they find it a convenient and equal expedient in ſome Countries for leviation of their rents. Such Countries and Villages as theſe which are called *Wakfi*,

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are greatly bleſſed and happy above others, in regard that the Inhabitants enjoy not only particular priviledges and immunities from thence, but freedom likewiſe from oppreſſion of *Paſhaws* and the *Turkiſh* Souldiery in their March, or of great perſons in their journey or paſſage from one Country to another, who out of reverence to that lot to which they are ſeparated, abſtain from all kind of diſturbance and abuſe towards that people.

Other *Moſchs* of inferiour quality, founded by private perſons and the conſents of *Derviſes* and other Orders, which cannot have their Revenues in Land like the *Moſchs* of Royal Foundation, have their Eſtates in money bequeathed by Teſtament or by Gift of the Living, which being lent out at eighteen in the hundred *per annum*, produces a conſtant rent; and though intereſt for the moſt part is forbidden by the *Mahometan* Law, yet for the uſes of *Moſchs* and ſupport of Orphans it is allowed; in all other caſes it is *Haram* and abominable. And becauſe the taking up of money upon Loane is in ſome manner neceſſary and conducing to the better ſubſiſtence and being of Trade, and that men will not lend without a conſideration or benefit; the uſual manner is to borrow money for a certain time, and in the writing or obligation to acknowledge the receipt of as much as the principal and intereſt may amount unto, and oftentimes double of the Capital ſum, which being delivered before witneſs in a bag or in groſs, the Creditor declaring the ſum to be ſo much therein contained, and the Debtor acknowledging it, the teſtimony is valid when the Debt comes to be demanded. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have declared concerning the endowments and manner of enriching the *Turkiſh Moſchs*, from whence the conſtitution of others of the like nature may eaſily be collected.

CHAP. VIII.

The Nature of Predeſtination according to the Turkiſh Doctors.

THe Doctrine of the *Turks* in this point ſeems to run exactly according to the aſſertion of the ſevereſt *Calviniſts*; and in proof hereof their Learned men produce places of Scripture, which ſeem to incline to the ſame opinion. As ſhall the Veſſel ſay to the Potter, *Why haſt thou made me thus? I will harden the heart of* Pharoah; Jacob *have I loved, and* Eſau *have I hated*, and the like. For the *Turks* attribute no ſmall Reverence and Authority to the Old Teſtament, as wrote by Divine Inſpiration, but that the *Alchoran* being of later date, and containing the Will of God more expreſly and perfectly, the former is now abrogated and gives place unto this.

Some are ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that they are not afraid to ſay that God is the Author of evil, without diſtinction or evaſions to acquit the Divine purity of the foulneſs of ſin according to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. And all in general concur in this concluſion, That whatſoever proſpers hath God for the Author; which was the reaſon they deſtroyed not *Bajazets* Children, during the time of his War againſt

his Brother *Selymus*, expecting to receive an undoubted argument of the Will of God therein, from the good or bad fortune of the Father. And from the ſame rule they conclude much of the Divine approbation and truth of their Religion, from their Conqueſts and preſent Proſperity.

They are of opinion that every mans deſtiny is writ in his forehead, which they call *Narſip* or *Tactir*, which is the Book writ in Heaven of every mans fortune, and is by no contrary endeavours, counſels or wiſdom to be avoided; which Tenent is ſo firmly radicated in the minds of the vulgar, that it cauſes the Souldiery brutiſhly to throw away their lives in the moſt deſperate attempts, and to eſteem no more of their bodies, then as dirt or rubbiſh to fill up the trenches of the Enemy: And to ſpeak the truth, this received aſſertion hath turned the *Turks* as much to account, as any other of their beſt and ſubtleſt Maxims.

According to this Doctrine, none ought to avoid or fear the Infection of the Plague; *Mahomets* precepts being not to abandon the City-houſe where Infection rages, becauſe God hath numbred their days and predeſtinated their fate; And upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds and frequent the company of Peſtilential perſons, as we do thoſe that are affected with the Gout, Stone or Ague. And though they evidently ſee that Chriſtians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, ſurvive the fury of the years Peſtilence, when whole Cities of them periſh and are depopulated with the Diſeaſe; yet ſo far is this opinion rooted amongſt them, that they ſcruple not to ſtrip the contagious ſhirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the ſick; it being the cuſtom in the Families of great men to lodge many Servants on different Palets in the ſame room, where the diſeaſed and healthful lie promiſcuouſly together, from whence it hath hapned often, that three parts of a *Paſhaws* Family, which perhaps hath conſiſted of two hundred men, moſt youthful and luſty, have periſhed in the heat of *July* and *Auguſts* Peſtilence. And in the ſame manner many whole Families every Summer have periſhed, and not one ſurviver left to claim the inheritance of the houſe; for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the proprietor.

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their houſes, nor avoid the converſation of men infected with the Peſtilence where their buſineſs or calling employs them; yet they are counſelled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them. But yet I have obſerved, in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided ſo much to the precept of their Prophet, as to have courage enough to withſtand the dread and terrour of that ſlaughter the ſickneſs hath made; but have under other excuſes fled to retired and private Villages, eſpecially the *Cadees* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments then the generality, both by reaſon and experience have found that a wholeſom Air is a preſerver of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own houſe in health and ſtrength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their brutiſh ignorance been laid in their Graves. And this is the opinion

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moſt general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Jebare*; There is another ſort amongſt them called *Kadere*.

CHAP. IX.

The difference of Sects and diſagreement in Religion amongſt the Turks *in general.*

THere is no conſideration more abſtruſe and full of diſtraction, then the contemplation of the ſtrange variety of Religions in the world: how it is poſſible that from the rational ſoul of man, which in all mankind is of little difference in it ſelf, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, ſhould proceed ſuch diverſities of Faiths, ſuch figments and Ideas of God, that all Ages and all Countries have abounded with ſuperſtitions of different natures; And it is ſtrange to conſider, that Nations who have been admirably wiſe, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, ſhould yet in matters of Religion give themſelves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythoneſs*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy *Hermite*. And it is as ſtrange that men who embrace the ſame principles in Religion, and have the ſame true and infallible Foundation, ſhould yet raiſe ſuch different and diſproportionate Fabricks, that moſt ſhould make their ſuperſtructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a ſubſtantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For reſolution of which difficulties, nothing can be ſaid more then that the god of this world hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, *Leſt the light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt who is the image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them.* 2 Cor. 4. v. 4.

The *Mahometan* Religion is alſo one of the prodigious products of Reaſons ſuperfœtations, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more then the confeſſion of one God. And yet even herein alſo are diverſities of Sects, Opinions and Orders, which are maintained in oppoſition each to other, with emulation and zeal by the profeſſours, with heats, diſputes and ſeparations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unholy; the particulars of which Sects and diverſity in their Tenents, I ſhall as far as I have ſeen or could learn, ſet down and deſcribe, having with the more curioſity and diligence made the ſtricter enquiry, becauſe I have not read any Author which hath given a ſatisfactory account of ſuch Sects as are ſprung up amongſt them in theſe latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are ſeventy two Sects amongſt the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and ſcanned. The *Turkiſh* Doctors fancy that the ſeventy two Nations which they call (*Yetmiſh ekee Melet*) into which the world was divided upon the confuſion of the Languages at *Babel*, was a Type and a Figure of the diviſions which in after-ages ſhould ſucceed in the three moſt general Religions of the World. In this manner they account ſeventy different Sects amongſt the Jews, ſeventy one amongſt the Chriſtians, and to the *Mahometan* they aſſign one more, as being the

the laſt and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulneſs of true Doctrine is completed, ſo the Myſtery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule, is here terminated and confined.

The *Turks* have amongſt themſelves as well as in other Religions, Sects and Hereſies of dangerous conſequence, which daily encreaſe mixing together with them many of the Chriſtian Doctrines (which ſhall in their due place be deſcribed) and in former times alſo a ſort of phanatick *Mahometans* which at firſt met only in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed againſt the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheiches Bedredin* Chief Juſtice to *Muſa*, Brother of *Mahomet* the fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Maſter was baniſhed to *Nice* in *Aſia*, where conſulting with his Servant *Burgluzes Muſtapha*, by what means they might raiſe Sedition and a ſecond War; they agreed, the readieſt courſe was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by perſwading the people to ſomething contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* ſuperſtition. Whereupon *Burgluzes* maſking his Villany under a grave and ſerious countenance, took his journey into *Aydinin*, otherwiſe *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humour of the people, preaching to them freedom and liberty of conſcience and the Myſtery of Revelations, and you may believe he uſed all arts in his perſwaſions, with which Subjects uſed to be allured to a Rebellion againſt their Prince, ſo that in a ſhort time he contracted a great number of Diſciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his ſervant thrive ſo well with his preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nice* into *Valachia*, where withdrawing himſelf into a Foreſt like a devout religious man, gathered a number of Proſelytes compoſed of Thieves, Robbers and Out-lawed people; theſe he having inſtructed in the principles of his Religion, ſent abroad like Apoſtles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Juſtice, and Commander of the whole world; and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Aſia:* The people taken with theſe Novelties, repaired in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himſelf ſtrong enough to take the field, iſſued from his deſart with Colours diſplayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded Multitude a bloody Battel, againſt thoſe Forces which *Mahomet* ſent to ſuppreſs him under his Son *Amurath*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Priſoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to ſave him from the Gallows.

And thus we ſee, that the name of Gods cauſe, revelations, liberty and the like, have been old and common pretences and deluſions of the world, and not only Chriſtians, but *Infidels* and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion in the Field to juſtifie their cauſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. *Of* Mahomet *and* Hali; *that is, the* Turk *and the* Perſian; *the Errours of the* Perſian *recounted and confuted by the* Mufti *of* Conſtantinople.

THe two great Sects amongſt the followers of *Mahomet*, which are moſt violent each againſt other, the mutual hatred of which diverſity of Education and Intereſt of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turks* and *Perſians*: The firſt hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet; the latter prefer *Haly* before him; and though he was his Diſciple and ſucceeded him; yet his inſpirations they eſteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the law moſt perfect and Divine.

The *Turk* alſo accuſes the *Perſian* of corrupting the *Alchoran*, that they have altered words, miſplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtful and ambiguous ſenſe; ſo that thoſe *Alchorans* which were upon the Conqueſt of *Babylon* brought thence to *Conſtantinople*, are ſeparated and compiled in the great *Seraglio*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curſe on any that ſhall read them. The *Turks* call the *Perſian* forſaken of God, abominable and blaſphemers of the Holy Prophet; ſo that when *Selymus* the firſt made War in *Perſia*, he named his cauſe the cauſe of God, and proclaimed the occaſion and ground of his War to be the Vindication of the cauſe of the Prophet, and revenge of the blaſphemies the *Perſians* had vented againſt him; and ſo far is this hatred radicated, that the youth of what Nation ſoever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglio*, excepting only the *Perſian*, who are looked upon by the *Turk* as a people ſo far Apoſtatized from the true belief, and fallen into ſo deſperate an Eſtate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or poſſibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, nor account them worthy of life or ſlavery.

Nor are the *Perſians* on the other ſide endued with better nature of good will to the *Turks*, eſtranging themſelves in the fartheſt manner from their Cuſtoms and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, *viz.* *Ebbubecher*, *Oſman* and *Omar*, as Apocryphal and of no Authority; and have a cuſtom at their Marriages to erect the Images of thoſe three Doctors of Paſte or Sugar at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Gueſts firſt caſting their looks, leave the impreſſion of any ſecret Magick which may iſſue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married couple; for in the Eaſtern parts of the world they hold that there is a ſtrange faſcination innate to the eyes of ſome people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body, and have an eſpecial quality contrary to procreation: and therefore when the Gueſts are entred, having the Malignity of their eyes Arreſted on theſe

Statues,

Statues, they afterwards cut them down and diſſolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are moſt controverted amongſt them, and what Anathema's and Curſes are by both ſides vented each againſt the other; this following ſentence paſt by the *Mufti Eſad Efendi*, upon *Schah Abbas* Tutor to the King of *Perſia* called *Sari Halife*, and all the *Perſians*, will be a ſufficient teſtimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between theſe two Nations; an extract of which is here drawn from the Book it ſelf licenſed and approved at *Conſtantinople*.

If you had (ſays he) no other Hereſie then the rejection of thoſe elevated familiars of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Oſman* and *Ebbubecher*, your crime would notwithſtanding be ſo great as were not expiable by a thouſand years of prayer or pilgrimage in the ſight of God; but you would be condemned to the bottomleſs Abyſs of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celeſtial Bliſs; and this ſentence of mine is confirmed by the ſame opinion of the four *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azem*, *Imam Schaſi*, *Imam Malick*, and *Imam Hambeli*; and therefore I friendly admoniſh you to correct this errour in your ſelves, and likewiſe in your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Nor are you contented to paſs with this ſingle errour, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbaſchi*, that is, *Perſian* Hereticks, but you are become as abominable as the *Durzi* (a people that lives about Mount *Libanus*) of bad eſteem and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and manners; ſo that I cannot but paſs this black ſentence upon you, that it is lawful in a Godly zeal to kill and deſtroy you for the Service of God; your Tenents being refuted by *Giafer Efendi*, who hath branded the *Perſians* for *Pagans*, and in ſeventy ſeveral places of the *Alchoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonſtrated the clearneſs of their errour.

If the Chriſtian only for ſaying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Eſtate, why ſhould the *Perſian* expect better quarter, who is ſtigmatized for Hereſie in ſeventy places of the *Alchoran*? And one of your deteſtable opinions of the firſt rank is,

That you eſteem your ſelves obliged to aſſemble at the *Moſchs*, but not to prayers: for what ſignifies your meeting, if not to prayers? *Mahomet* himſelf ſays, that he who repairs to the Congregation without a deſign of prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Diſſembler, is accurſed of God, nor ſhall be bleſſed in his Houſe or Eſtate, the good Angels ſhall abandon him, the Devils ſhall attend him, nor ſhall he ever proſper in this world, or in the world to come.

In anſwer hereunto you ſay, that the antient Order of Prieſts is extinct, that you have none whoſe pious lives enable to preach and inſtruct you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Aſſembly. Do there want pious and holy perſons of the race of *Mahomet*? if there do not, why do not you imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and in open Hoſtility to the *Mahometan* Family, and excuſe your ſelves from the uſe of Prieſts or *Imams*, becauſe their innocence cannot equal that of Infants. In this point (it is true) you have ſomething of reaſon; for your *Imams* are not only Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their converſation; and your King who is your High-Prieſt, frequents Stews and the Styes of deformed Luſt, raviſhing fair

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and chaſt Wives from the embraces of their Husbands; and that publickly in the face of the world, maintaining concubinage with them. And where the example of a Prince makes ſuch things lawful, his Subjects, whether Souldiers or Lawyers, will make no ſcruple to imitate his actions.

You deny the Verſe called the Covering in the *Alchoran* to be authentick; you reject the eighteen Verſes, which are revealed to us for the ſake of the holy *Aiſche.* Chapter ſo called. The Wife of *Mahomet* ſo called.

At the *Abdeſt* or waſhing, you hold it not lawful to waſh the bare feet, but only lightly ſtroak them over.

Your Muſtachioes or hair on the upper lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honeſt Ornament of a mans countenance, you cut and clip into what form you pleaſe.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought only to adorn the nobler parts, you in deſpight to the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shooes and Breeches.

Wine which is an abomination to the true obſervers of the Law, you drink freely of, without ſcruple of conſcience; as alſo in Meats you make no diſtinction between clean and unclean, but uſe all with a like indifferency. In ſhort, ſhould I mention all thoſe ſeventy points wherein you erre, and are without all compariſon corrupt and erroneous, I ſhould ſwell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which is brevity.

Another ſinful cuſtom you permit amongſt you, which is, for many men to be joyned to one Woman; for to whom of them can be appropriated the off-ſpring that is born? what Book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vile and unnatural cuſtom? How vile muſt thoſe Children be who are the iſſue of ſuch Parents? that it is no wonder, there be none found amongſt you worthy the holy Character of a Prieſt or a Judge.

But you cannot be ſo irrational, as to deny that the Aſſembling in *Moſchs* to prayer, is neceſſary to Divine Service; *Mahomet* himſelf prayed together with the people, and ſometimes preferred *Ebbecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you aſk your Pilgrims who come from *Mecha*, what mean theſe four Altars in the *Moſch*, which are the places of prayer deſigned to the four ſeveral Orthodox Sects? why take you not example from theſe? but you are ſtill perverſe and obſtinate, haters of God and his Prophet; What will you anſwer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomet* and his four Friends? who long ſince being dead, you revive their Aſhes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in Sugar, and afterwards in contempt hew them down to yield paſtime and occaſion of laughter to the Spouſes and their Gueſts.

Was not the firſt converted to the Faith, *Ebubecher?*

Was not *Omar* the braveſt Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion againſt the Chriſtians?

Was not he who diſpoſed and diſtinguiſhed the Chapters of the *Alchoran*, the chaſt *Oſman?*

Was not the braveſt and moſt Learned bearer of the *Zulfekar*, or the

Sword with two points, was it not *Hali?* And were not *Imam Haſſan*, and *Imam Huſein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deſerts of *Kerbela?*

Did not *Mahomet* ſay with his own mouth, *O Hali*, for thy ſake there are two ſorts of people predeſtinated to Hell? one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not. Are not you then that wear red Turbants much to be condemned, being of evil life and converſation, and not well inclined to the houſe of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithful, as it is written in the Book called *Aadicks?* The Chriſtians conſerve the hoofs of that Aſs on which Chriſt rode, and ſet them in caſes of Gold and Silver; and eſteem it an extream honour to have their Faces, Hands or Heads touched with ſo holy a relique. But you who profeſs your ſelves Diſciples of the Prophet of God, and derived from the blood and family of his Friends, deſpiſe ſo glorious a Title, commanding after the repetition of your prayers, that is, after the *Ezan*, that Curſes and Blaſphemies be proclaimed againſt theſe holy Friends and Aſſociates of the Prophet.

That is, when the people are called to prayers from the Steeple.

Beſides this, your Books maintain and avouch it lawful to pillage, burn and deſtroy the Countries of the *Muſſelmins*, to carry their Wives and Families into ſlavery; and from a principle of Malice and Reproach to carry them naked through your Markets, and expoſe them to ſale to any Chapman; *Pagans* themſelves eſteem not this honeſt nor decent, by which it is apparent that you are the moſt mortal and irreconcilable enemies to us of all the Nations in the world, you are certainly more cruel to us then the *Sezidi*, the *Kiafirs*, the *Zindiks*, then the *Durzians*; and in brief you are the Kennel of all uncleanneſs and ſin; a Chriſtian or a Jew may hope to become true Believers, but you can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that Authority I have received from *Mahomet* himſelf, in conſideration of your miſdeeds and incredulity, I pronounce it lawful for any one of what Nation ſoever, that is of the Believers, to kill, deſtroy and extirpate you; ſo that as he who ſlays a rebellious Chriſtian, performs a meritorious action in the ſight of God; much rather he who kills a *Perſian*, ſhall obtain a reward ſeventy-fold from the fountain of Juſtice. And I hope that the Majeſty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Aſſes of the Jews, to be rode and hacknyed in Hell by that deſpiſed people; and that in a ſhort time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians* our Brothers and Aſſociates in the ſame Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Hereſies amongſt the Turks.

THere are four Sects into which the *Mahometans* of the eſteemed Orthodox belief are divided; and thoſe are theſe.

The firſt is called *Haniffe*, which is profeſſed in *Turky*, *Tartary*, *Enſbec*, and on the other ſide of *Jehun*, *Bactorus* and *Oxus*.

The ſecond is *Shaffee*, whoſe Cuſtoms and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malechee*, to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themſelves.

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The fourth is *Hambelle*, of which are but few, and is known only in ſome parts of *Arabia*.

Theſe four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctors (as we may ſay amongſt Chriſtians, Scholars of St. *Auguſtine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have only differences as to Ceremonies, poſtures in their prayers, waſhings, diverſities in ſome points of their Civil Laws; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entring into Paradiſe, if their life and converſation be regulated according to their Profeſſion and Tenents.

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of theſe four preceding Profeſſions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which ſome Superſtitious and Schiſmatical Preachers amongſt them have vented; and thoſe commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Hereſies by the reſpective Opponents, which may properly be called ſo, becauſe they are converſant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his decrees and judgments, his promiſes and threatnings, and concerning propheſies and gifts of Faith, are eſpecially theſe which ſtand in oppoſition each to other, *viz.*

Moatazali		*Sephatii*
Kadari	To	*Giabari*
Morgii		*Waidi*
Shii		*Chawarigi*

From each of theſe Sects, as from ſo many roots ariſe ſeveral Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenents of the Turkiſh Doctors complete the number of ſeventy two.

Moatazali ſignifies as much as Separatiſts; the reaſon of which denomination, was from *Alhaſan* the Scholar of *Waſel Ebw Atw*, the Author and Maſter of this Sect, to whom the queſtion being propoſed, Whether thoſe who had committed a groſs ſin, were to be adjudged condemned and fallen from the Faith? the Scholar *Alhaſan* inſtead of expecting the reſolution of his Maſter, withdrew himſelf and began to interpret his ſenſe thereof to his other Fellow-Diſciples; from which withdrawing of himſelf they were afterwards denominated *Moatazali*, which is Separatiſts. But the name they give themſelves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they ſo differ among themſelves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that paſſion on all ſides, that every party accuſes his oppoſites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophiſters accord in common, is this; That God is eternal, and that eternity is an attribute moſt properly agreeable to his eſſence; but yet they reject the attribute it ſelf, ſaying, that God is eternal, vviſe, povverful and the like, by his ovvn entire and ſingle eſſence; but yet they ſay, he is not eternal by his eternity, nor vviſe by his vviſdom, nor povverful by his povver, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like errour as they ſay of the Chriſtians, vvho divide and diſhonour the Unity of God, by the *Moatazali.*

conceptions they frame of the three Perſons in the Trinity. And if the Chriſtians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are thoſe who frame as many Eternals, as there are Attributes to the Deity?

Haietti. Another ſort derived from this Sect called *Haletti*, hold that Chriſt aſſumed a true and natural body, and was the Eternal and Incarnate, as the Chriſtians profeſs; and in their *Credo* or Belief have inſerted this Article, that Chriſt ſhall come to judge the world at the laſt day, and for proof hereof alledge an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in theſe words. Thou *Mahomet* ſhalt ſee thy Lord return in the Clouds: which though they fear expreſly in plain terms to interpret of Chriſt, yet they confidently affirm it to be propheſied of the *Meſſiah*, and in diſcourſe confeſs that that *Meſſiah* can be no other than Chriſt; who ſhall return with the ſame humane fleſh again into the world, Reign forty years on Earth, confound Antichriſt, and afterwards ſhall be the end of the World.

Another ſort of Profeſſors of the Sect of *Moatazali*, are *Iſi*, whoſe firſt Author was *Iſa Merdad*; theſe maintain that the *Alchoran* was created contrary to the expreſs word of *Mahomet*, who anathematizes all who are of this perſwaſion, ſaying, let him be reputed an Infidel, who believes the *Alchoran* created; for ſolution of which difficulty and to concur with the words of their *Prophet*, they ſay, that the *Alchoran* delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy tranſcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denys the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from that firſt, and infallible exemplar.

Theſe alſo farther proceed to deny againſt the common Tenent of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchleſs Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; aſſerting that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far tranſcend every line of it in Wiſdom and Rhetorick; which in my opinion is a ſtrange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who ſeems to be too proud of the exact diſpoſition, and full ſignification of every word, that he judges it not leſs charming for the ſweet ſound of its Eloquence, then it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

Sephati. The great Antagoniſts to the *Moatazali*, are the *Sephati*, who Aſſign in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledge, Power, Life, *&c.* And ſome of them proceed ſo far, and groſly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Senſe, as of Hearing, Seeing, and Speech to be in God, affirming that thoſe expreſſions of Gods ſitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger againſt Sin, Repentance for mans Converſion, which we call ἀνθρωποπάθεια, are to be taken in the literal and plain ſence, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notion of them: But yet herein their *Doctors* ſeem not to agree, ſome defining a body, to be the ſame as, *per ſe ſubſiſtens*, denying it to be an eſſential propriety of a body to be circumſcribed and finite; others conclude that it is enough to ſay that God is great, without argument of his circumſcription, or determination to any particular place, with many other ſtrange conceits, whereby are made apparent the roving Fancies of Ignorant Men, with-

without the Rules or Grounds of *Philoſophy*, or *Metaphyſicks*. But the ſoberer ſort amongſt them, who would appear more Moderate and Wiſer than the reſt, forbid their Scholars to make Compariſon of the Senſes in God, with thoſe of the Creature, who being more ſubtly urged by their ſevere opponents the *Moatazali*; they were forced to declare themſelves more plainly, in this manner, that the God which they Worſhipped was a Figure, Viſible, and an Object of the Sight, conſiſting of parts Spiritual and Corporeal, to whom local Motion might be agreeable, but that his Fleſh and Blood, his Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any ſimilitude with created ſubſtances, but were of another Craſis and Mixture which ſubjected them to no Diſtemper or Corruption; in proof whereof, they alledge the words of *Mahomet*, that God created Man after his own Likeneſs: And all other of thoſe Examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alchoran* is filled, and where in familiar expreſſions, the Divinity is pleaſed to condeſcend to the infirmity of Humane Capacity.

The next Sect is that of the *Kadari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predeſtination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whoſe will as from the firſt principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived, ſo that as with juſt reaſon God Crowns mans good works with the Rewards of Bliſs and Felicity; ſo on the other ſide juſtly puniſhes his evil actions in this world, and in the next to come; and this they ſtyle the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a meaſure of mans actions, according to the rectitude and diſpoſition of that right line, which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wiſdoms proportion. This opinion is abſolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mahomet* moderated in the diſpute between *Adam* and *Moſes*, whom an *Arabian* Doctor comically introduced, pleading and juſtifying themſelves before God. *Moſes* beginning firſt, reproached *Adam*, that he was one immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, placed and ſeated in Paradiſe, and fortified with actual graces againſt the enormities and crooked irregularities of inferiour affections; from which happy ſtate that he ſhould fall and precipitate mankind, together with himſelf, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuſe himſelf, replyed in this manner. Thou *Moſes* whom God hath called to a familiar parley, revealed his Will and Pleaſure unto in thoſe engraven Tables, where all Morality and Vertue is contained, reſolve me this one Quære and difficult Probleme, how many years before I was created, doſt thou find that the Law was wrote? *Moſes* anſwered forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled againſt his Lord and ſinned? to which *Moſes* anſwering in the affirmative, do you blame me then ſaid he for executing that which God forty years before predeſtinated and deſigned me unto? and not only forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mahomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the queſtion undetermined, though his followers, as men are moſt prone to errour generally, entertain the contrary Tenent.

Kadari.

Ebnol Athir Mr. *Pocock Notæ de Moribus Arabum.*

The great Enemies diametrically oppoſed to theſe are the *Jabari* or *Giabari*; *Jabari.*

Giabari; vvho maintain that a man hath no povver over his Will or Actions, but is vvholly moved by a Superiour Agent, and that God hath a povver over his creatures, to deſign them to Happineſs or to Miſery, as ſeems beſt to his divine pleaſure; but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the moſt rigorous manner, and ſay that man is vvholly neceſſitated and compelled in all his actions; that neither his Will, nor Povver, nor Election is in himſelf; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the firſt principle of their Life and Eſſence; and as the Tree may be ſaid to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move dovvnvvards, ſo are the actions in man, for vvhich yet there is a revvard and a puniſhment properly and neceſſarily allotted. This point is very ſubtly controverted by the *Arabian* Doctors, to vvhich hovv the *Turks* are addicted, vve ſhall farther diſcourſe in the Chapter of Predeſtination.

Morgi. The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Muſſelman* or Believer though guilty of the groſſeſt ſins, is not puniſhed for them in this vvorld, nor receives his abſolution or condemnation after death, until the day of Reſurrection and Judgment: and farther, that as impiety vvith the true belief ſhall never be puniſhed; ſo piety and good vvorks proceeding from a falſe and erroneous faith, is of no validity or povver conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradiſe. And to theſe may not improperly be compared ſome Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God ſees no ſin in his Children; and that the infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the houſe of the faithful, is more acceptable to God, than the Alms, Prayers, and Repentance of an erroneous Believer without the Pale and Covenant of grace.

Waidi. The oppoſite Sect to theſe are the *Waidi*, who eſteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal ſin, is put into the condition of a deſerter of his faith; and though he be a profeſſor of the true Belief, ſhall yet without recovery for ever be puniſhed in Hell; but yet that his torments ſhall be in a more remiſs degree than that of Infidels: But that opinion which in this point is eſteemed Orthodox amongſt the *Turks*, is this, That a ſinner in a high nature going out of this world without repentance, is wholly to be committed to the pleaſure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the interceſſion of the Prophet *Mahomet*, according to what he ſaith in the *Alchoran*, My interceſſion ſhall be for thoſe of my own people who have greatly ſinned; that being firſt puniſhed according to the meaſure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compaſſion be received into Paradiſe; for it is impoſſible they ſhould for ever remain in the eternal flames with the Infidels; becauſe it is revealed to us, that whoſoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of faith, ſhall in due time be releaſed from fiery torments; for which cauſe ſome Sects amongſt the *Turks* uſe Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemiteries always by the ſide of High-ways, that Paſſengers may be remembred of their own Mortality, and pray for the ſouls of thoſe departed; of which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as thoſe they fancy of Paradiſe; For they imagine when they ſhall be called by *Mahomet* from this Purgatory at the day of judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot with Fire, over which

Chap.

which they muſt paſs with naked Feet; only the Paper which they in their life-time have taken from the ground and conſerved from being trampled on by the Feet of Men or Beaſts, ſhall at that day be ſtrowed on the Bars of this hot paſſage, that they may paſs that fire Ordeal with leſs torment; which is the reaſon the *Turks* ſee no ſmall piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately ſtoop for it, and place it in ſome ſecret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they ſay) from the diſhonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit promiſed, when the ſoles of their feet ſhall try the intenſe heat of this burning Iron. The ſame reſpect alſo they ſhew to Roſe-leaves, in conſideration (as they believe) that a Roſe was produced from the ſweat of *Mahomet*.

The *Shii* are the Sect ſpoken of before, oppoſed by the Subjects of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as the moſt heretical of any of the reſt, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mahomet* in the prophetical Office, and reſtrain the prophetick gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*, and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of ſin, though of the lower nature; ſome of which Profeſſors called *Alnoſairi*, affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his tongue proclaimed the moſt hidden Myſteries of Religion; and ſome have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, aſſerting them to be elevated above degree and ſtate of the creatures: theſe expect the return of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may ſeem to be grounded that miſtake amongſt our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mahomet* ſhall again return into the world. *Alnoſairi.*

To the foregoing are oppoſed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there is or hath been ſuch Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular perſon; nor any ever ſent into the world endued with that power of Infallibility, to reſolve doubts, and teach and impoſe a new Law on Mankind; but if at any time ſuch an Office ſhould be neceſſary, it can never be reſtrained to one lineage; for the perſon being faithful and juſt, no matter whether he be a Servant or free, a * *Nabathean* or a * *Koraſchite*. *Chawarigi.*

* One of the vulgar or rude ſort amongſt the *Arabians*.

* One of a noble family amongſt the *Arabians*.

Theſe are ancient Sects amongſt the profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which are aroſe ſo many others as by the confeſſion of the *Turkiſh* Doctors complete the number of ſeventy three. But becauſe the accurate ſearch into ſo many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I ſhall content my ſelf with having given him a taſte of theſe foregoing, learning him to gueſs at the reſt in what manner the fancy of a man can frame deductions from the foregoing premiſes; and ſhall now give an account how buſie theſe modern times have been at *Conſtantinople* in hammering out ſtrange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accuſation of being the moſt ſubject to religious innovations, the world attributing much thereof to the air and conſtitution of its Climate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongſt the Turks.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Hereſies in every Religion; and therefore we ſhall proceed in declaring ſome few that are of a freſher date then thoſe in the foregoing Chapter, and ſo ſhall continue to deſcend to others which this preſent Age hath begot. *Zeidi* maintains that God will ſend a Prophet of the *Perſians* with a Law by which ſhall be annulled the Law of *Mahomet*.

That called *Zeidi*, is one of the latter edition.

A ſecond to this is derived from the *Moatezeli*, that denies any man can be ſtiled a Saint in this world, excepting the Prophets, who were without ſin; and that the true Believers ſhall in the next world ſee God as clearly as we ſee the Moon at full; againſt the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, who ſays God is inviſible either to us in this world, or the next.

Derived from the *Moatezeli*.

There are alſo thoſe called *Malumigee*, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this world; and that by the Doctrine of *Cognoſce teipſum*, the creature proceeds to the perfect knowledge of his Creator.

Malumigee.

The Opponents to theſe are *Mezzachulia*, who hold, that they which know God only in this world by ſome glimmerings and rays of his glory and eſſence, is ſufficient to lead them into Paradiſe, and rank them in the number of the faithful.

Mezzachulia.

Another ſort there are called *Jabaiah*, which denies Gods Omniſcience, affirming, That God governs the world by chance and accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the world, a perfect certainty of the particular affairs that were to be tranſacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by conſtant practice and experience.

Jabaiah.

We ſhall not inſiſt here to multiply many of theſe Sects, who have almoſt as many diverſities amongſt the *Turks*, as there are Schools and Maſters; every *Hogia* that is but a form above a meer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the *Arabian* Fables, eſteems himſelf of mean account, if by ſome ſingular opinion which he inſtills into his Diſciples, he diſtinguiſhes not his Gymnaſion from the common and inferiour Schools. But theſe men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies have a ſpecial care that none of their principles oppugne thoſe five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the firſt Chapter of this Book, which are the eſſential points that conſtitute a *Mahometan*; or derogate from the Authority of their Governours, or produce factions or diſturbances in the State.

But theſe modern times have produced other Sects amongſt the *Turks*, ſome of which ſeem in part dangerous, and apt to make a conſiderable rupture in their long continued union; when time changes and revolutions of State ſhall animate ſome turbulent ſpirits, to gather Souldiers and followers under theſe Doctrines and other ſpecious pretences.

One of which is called *Kadezadeli*, a Sect ſprung up in the time of

Kadezadeli.

Sultan

Sultan Morat, whoſe chief propagator was one *Birgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the ſouls departed, at the burial of the dead. Thoſe that are of this Sect cauſe their *Imaum* to cry loud in the ears of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Thoſe who are principally devoted to this Sect, are the *Ruſſians* and other ſort of Renegado Chriſtians, who amongſt their confuſed, and almoſt forgotten notions of the Chriſtian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and prayers for the dead.

But the opinion eſteemed Orthodox, and moſt generally allowed amongſt the *Turks*, is, That no *Mahometan* goes eternally to Hell, but after a certain ſpace of years is delivered thence, and paſſes into Paradiſe; After death they aſſigne two ſorts of puniſhments; the firſt is called *Azabe-Kaberi*, or the puniſhment of the Grave, which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth ſo faſt as it cruſhes their bones, and ſhuts the pores and creviſes through which they ſhould ſee into heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark incloſures, to behold the Viſion of Gods glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the ſouls remain until their torments are accompliſhed, and Divine Juſtice ſatisfyed.

There is an opinion of late years principally maintained amongſt the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Conſtantinople*, the profeſſors of which are called *Chupmeſſahi*, or the good followers of the *Meſſiah*; theſe maintain that Chriſt is God and Redeemer of the world; the young Scholars in the Grand Signiors Court are generally devoted to this Tenent, eſpecially thoſe which are the moſt courteous, affable and beſt diſpoſed, that it is grown into a Proverb amongſt them, when they would commend and praiſe gentleneſs and courteſie of each others nature, they do it with the expreſſion of *Chupmeſſahiſen*, as if they would ſay, You are gentle, accompliſhed and exceſſive in your favours as becomes one who profeſſes the *Meſſiah*. Of this ſort of people there are great numbers in *Conſtantinople*, ſome of which have ſo boldly aſſerted this Doctrine, that they have ſuffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is ſtill maintained, and ſecretly profeſſed by ſuch multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon ſome notable opportunity were this cauſe and Religion made the ground of ſome Toleration and Inſurrection amongſt its Diſciples and profeſſors, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Goſpel: but of this we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter in its due place. *Chupmeſſahi. Muſerin.*

And becauſe it is our intent here to declare the ſeveral Religions amongſt the *Turks*, it will not be from our purpoſe to mention how far Atheiſm hath ſpread it ſelf in theſe Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another. and Painters ſet off the Whiteneſs of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackneſs; ſo the privation of all Religion is not unaptly placed in the ſame Chapter with the various and different profeſſors of it.

Theſe theſe give themſelves the Title of *Muſerin*, which ſignifies, The true ſecret is with us; which ſecret, is no other then the abſolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinſecal principal in every individual thing directs the orderly courſe which we ſee and admire; and

that the Heavens, Sun, Moon and Stars have thence their Original and motion, and that man himſelf riſes and fades like the graſs or flower; It is ſtrange to conſider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Conſtantinople*, moſt of which are *Kadees* and learned men in the *Arabian* Legends, and others are Renegadoes from the Chriſtian faith, who conſcious of the ſin of their Apoſtacy, and therefore deſirous that all things may conclude with this world, are the more apt to entertain thoſe opinions which come neareſt to their wiſhes. One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eaſtern Learning, I remember, was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blaſphemies againſt the being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary diſcourſe, an argument againſt the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or elſe not ſo wiſe as the Doctors preached he was, in ſuffering him to live who was the greateſt enemy and ſcorner of a Divine eſſence that ever came into the world. And it is obſervable, that this man might notwithſtanding his accuſation have ſaved his life, would he but have confeſſed his errour, and promiſed for the future an aſſent to the principles of a better: but he perſiſted ſtill in his blaſphemies, ſaying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to dye a Martyr. I muſt confeſs until now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheiſm in the world, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was demonſtrable by the light of nature; but it is evident now how far ſome men have extinguiſhed this light and lamp in their ſouls.

This poiſonous Doctrine is ſo Infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglio*; into the apartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs, and found entertainment with the *Paſhas* and their whole Court; this ſort of people are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hoſpitable to each other, and if any by chance receives a Gueſt within his Gates of their own judgement, beſides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handſome Bed-fellow of which Sex he moſt delights: they are very frank and liberal, and exceſſive in their readineſs to do each other ſervice; It is ſaid, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, deſirous withal to propagate that of *Kadizadeli* amongſt the vulgar, that they being a ſevere, moroſe and covetous people, might grow rich, and ſpare for the benefit of his Exchequer; for the Sect of *Kadizadeli* before mentioned, is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Muſick, chearful or light diſcourſes, but confine themſelves to a ſet Gravity; in publick as well as private they make a continual mention of God, by a neverw-earied repetition of theſe words, *Ilahe ila Ellah*; that is, I profeſs there is one God: there are ſome of theſe that will ſit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting thoſe words with a moſt doleful and lamentable Note: they are exact and moſt punctual in the obſervation of the rules of Religion, and generally addict themſelves to the ſtudy of their Civil Law, in which they uſe conſtant exerciſes in arguing, oppoſing and anſwering, whereby to leave no piont undiſcovered or not diſcuſſed. In ſhort, they are highly Phariſaical in all their compartment, great admirers of themſelves, and ſcorners of others that comform not

to

to their Tenets, ſcarce affording them a ſalutation or common communication; they refuſe to marry their Sons with thoſe of a different rite, but amongſt themſelves they obſerve a certain policy; they admoniſh and correct the diſorderly; and ſuch who are not bettered by their perſwaſions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. Theſe are for the moſt part Tradeſmen, whoſe ſedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy, and diſtempered fancy.

But thoſe of this Sect who ſtrangely mix Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* together, are many of the Souldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Boſna*; reading the Goſpel in the *Sclavonian* tongue, with which they are ſupplyed out of *Moravia*, and the neighbouring City of *Raguſa*; beſides which, they are curious to learn the Myſteries of the *Alchoran*, and the Law of the *Arabick* tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate they affect the Courtly *Perſian*. They drink wine in the month of Faſt called the *Ramazan*, but to take off the ſcandal they refuſe Cinnamon or other Spices in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and paſſes currant for lawful liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Chriſtians, and are ready to protect them from Injuries and Violences of the *Turks*: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghoſt promiſed by Chriſt; and that the deſcending of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecoſt was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word παράκλητος, to ſignifie their Prophet, in whoſe ear ſo often the White Dove revealed the Infallible directions to happineſs. The *Potures* of *Boſna* are all of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Chriſtians do; they abhor Images and the ſign of the Croſs; they circumciſe, bringing the Authority of Chriſts example for it, which alſo the *Copticks*, a Sect of the *Greek* Church in *Egypt* imitated; but have now, as I am informed, lately diſuſed that cuſtom.

Potures a people of *Boſna.*

Another ſubtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongſt the *Janizaries*, called *Bektaſchi* from one *Becktaſh*, which ſeems an improper ſubject ſo deep in the Metaphyſical ſpeculation to trouble ſuch groſs heads as theirs; they began (as it is ſaid) in the time of *Solyman* the Magnificent, and are called by ſome *Zerati*; that is, thoſe who have Copulation with their own kindred, and by the vulgar, *Mumſconduren*, or extinguiſhers of the Candle. This Sect obſerve the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worſhip, with a ſtrictneſs and ſuperſtition above any of the Preciſians of that Religion: but hold it unlawful to adjoyn any attributes to God, by ſaying that God is great, or God is merciful, by reaſon that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehenſible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of mans underſtanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongſt the *Turks* called *Nemiſi*, that was flead alive, for ſaying, when the *Emaum* called the people to prayers at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the uſual word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one, that he lyed, upon the ſuppoſition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Eſſence. Amongſt the *Janizaries* are at preſent many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Becktaſh*, *Aga*, *Kul Kahya*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Conſtantinople*, (as we related before) were put to death under the Hiſtorical Pillar in the time of this preſent Emperours Minority. Theſe people againſt the inſtinct of nature uſe Car-

nal Copulation promiſcuouſly with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without reſpect to proximity of bloud or nearneſs in the degrees of relation, ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported contrary, to the abhorrency of Nature, by a weak and illogical compariſon of the lawfulneſs and reaſon, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine ſhould rather taſte of the Fruit, then reſign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others; and in this Argument act againſt the inclination of innate modeſty, according to that of *Seneca*.

Feræ quoque ipſæ Veneris evitant nefas,
Generiſque leges inſcius ſervat pudor.

Theſe people are eaſily induced to give falſe witneſs or teſtimony in the favour of their Sect, without conſideration of Equity or reaſonableneſs of their cauſe; by which means invading the right of others they became rich and powerful, until they were debaſed by the deprivation of *Becktaſhes* Authority, and Power of other potent favourers of their Sect: and though afterwards upheld by *Sudgi Beker*, a Standard Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a ſecond blow by his death, he executed by a Viſier *Kupriuli Mahomet*, for his diverſity in Religion and Wealth together; but farther animoſity againſt this Sect was diſſembled at that time, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe profeſſors in *Conſtantinople*, and becauſe reaſon of State ſaw it at that time neceſſary to draw bloud in many parts of the Empire for other cauſes, then for Errours in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabin*, though *Mahometans* in profeſſion, ſeem yet to run contrary to the ſtream and general conſent of all its profeſſors who give themſelves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet theſe notwithſtanding ſeem from the influence, the Sun and Moon have on ſublunary bodies, of all living ſenſitive creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in thoſe common lights of the world. In *Conſtantinople* there are ſome few Aſtrologers and Phyſitians of this Sect, but in *Parthia* and *Media* they are numerous, the men commonly worſhipping the Sun, and the women the Moon, and others the Artick Pole; they are not ſtrict in a ſeverity of life, or in the conformity to the preſcriptions of their Law, but govern themſelves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the immortality of the ſoul, nor the reward of Vertue, or puniſhment of Vice in the next world; nor prone to vindicate themſelves from injuries, reproachful language, or other evil actions of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celeſtial influences, are no more provoked by them than we are with a ſhower of Rain for wetting us, or the intenſe heat of the Sun in the Summer Solſtice.

Munaſihi is a Sect purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metampſychoſis or Tranſmigration of ſouls, of which there are ſome in *Conſtantinople*, one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonian* by Nation, but Educated in the *Seraglio*, and inſtructed in all the Learning of the *Turkiſh* Literature (from whom I freely confeſs to have received many of my obſervations) related to me a pleaſant diſcourſe that paſſed between him and a Dorgiſt at *Conſtantinople*, touching this ſubject. This Dorgiſt being Learned,

Learned, was the occaſion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oftner; and once being after ſome familiar acquaintance at a collation together, it chanced that a Black Dog giving them interruption at their Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther diſtance; at which the Dorgiſt growing pale and diſordered, *Albertus* gueſſed by his countenance that he was diſpleaſed at his unkindneſs towards the Dog; and therefore deſired his pardon if thereby he had given him any ſubject of offence: the Dorgiſt being thus pacified with the courteſie of his Gueſt, adviſed him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no ſmall crime and ſin that he thereby committed. This happening at the ſame time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Behai Efend*, were then ſolemnizing, afforded an occaſion of diſcourſe concerning the ſoul of the *Mufti* and Dog together; the Dorgiſt demanding the opinion of his Gueſt, whether he conceived the ſoul of that *Mufti* was predeſtinated to remain within the confines of the Grave, until the day of Reſurrection? in the knowledge of which queſtion *Albertus* ſeeming wholly ignorant, and deſirous to underſtand the ſolution from him; the Dorgiſt began freely to declare that the ſouls of men deceaſed enter into the Bodies of Beaſts, which are in temperament moſt agreeable to the diſpoſitions of thoſe whom before they animated; as the ſoul of the glutton enters into the Swine, the ſoul of the laſcivious into the Goat, of the generous into the Horſe, of the vigilant into a Dog, and ſo the like; in proof of which he produced a Book treating of all the diſtinctions of nature, and the proper aſſignments for their habitation after death: adding moreover, that of this opinion it was pity there were ſo few in *Conſtantinople*, ſome there were, and thoſe all of his own Trade and Profeſſion, but that at *Gran Cairo* were great numbers, ſtrict adherers to this Doctrine; that for his part he prayed to God with the reſt of his Brothers of the ſame Trade, that their ſouls may hereafter be ſo honoured as to inform the body of the *Camel*; becauſe they are Beaſts that are laborious, abſtemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorges from the remoteſt parts of the Eaſt: and that he did not doubt but after the Circle of 3365. years, that his ſoul had travelled for ſeveral Ages through the world, and wandred from the body of one *Camel* to animate another; it ſhould with the viciſſitude of time return again to a humane body, more purifyed and refined than in its firſt principles. And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgiſt, to which opinion it is ſaid all *China* is greatly devoted.

Eſchraki, which ſignifies illuminated, is a Sect purely Platonical, contemplative of the Divine *Idea*, and the number in God; for though they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number proceeding from the Unity; which conception of theirs they uſually illuſtrate by three folds in a Handkerchief, which may have the denomination of three; but being extended, is but one entire piece of Linnen. Theſe men are no great admirers of the compoſition of the *Alchoran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they embrace and produce as occaſion ſerves in confirmation of their Doctrine; other parts which with difficulty are reconciled they reject, and ſtile abrogated: and becauſe they apprehend that the true beatitude and bliſs of Paradiſe conſiſts in the contemplation of the Divine Majeſty, they contemn all the fancies and groſs conceptions of Hea- In Turkiſh *Menſuca.*

ven,

ven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the minds of rude and groſs men. Of this Sect are all the *Scheghs* or able Preachers that belong to the Royal *Moſchs* or Churches; who are men conſtant in their devotions, abſtemious in their Diet, of a chearful countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Muſick, and of an indifferent ſtrain in Poetry, whereby they compoſe certain Songs in Meeter, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewiſe generous and compaſſionate of humane frailty; and are not covetous, Stoical, or conceited of themſelves, by which means their behaviour is rendred extreamly taking through all *Conſtantinople*; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Aſpect in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comlineſs of the increated beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbour, becauſe (as they ſay) he is the creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creator. Their Diſciples they procure as much as poſſible, to be men of comely and pleaſing countenances and Majeſtick preſence, who they inſtruct in all the rules of abſtinence, gravity, and other vertues moſt appropriated to their Sect. And theſe of all ſorts of *Turks* ſeem worthy of the beſt Character, whom I compaſſionate, for not being born within the pale of a Chriſtian Church, nor duely inſtructed in the Myſtery of Chriſtianity, to which they ſeem by their morality and vertues already to have prepared many previous diſpoſitions.

Called in Turkiſh *Habi* and *Teſphi.*

A Sect much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Haireti*, ſignifying amazed, and doubtful in determination of all controverſies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and diſpute on queſtion in chaſe of truth: they will neither undertake to perſwade or diſſwade; but like the Academicks affirm that falſity may by the wit and contrivance of man be dreſſed in a habit as not to be diſtinguiſhed from truth it ſelf; and on the contrary, truth may be ſo diſguiſed with Sophiſtry and deluſions as to be rendred as deformed and ugly, as falſhood, and therefore they conclude all queſtions to be meerly probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonſtration; ſo that in points of dubious controverſies their common ſayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize karanuk*, it is unknown to us, and ſuch like expreſſions ſavouring of negligence and a brutiſh want of curioſity to ſearch into the ſtudies of Art and Science. Of this Sect ſome notwithſtanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the office of *Mufti*, in which they behave themſelves according to their affected careleſneſs, with a readineſs and facility to ſubſcribe all ſentences to the ſatisfaction, and in favour of the demandant; adding for the moſt part theſe words, *Wellahu ealem biſſenah*, God knows that which is beſt. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual obſervers of the rites of the *Mahometan* Religion and conſtitutions of their civil Law, but much incline to yield to the courſe of their own nature, and the force of paſſion; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unſociable, but more generally addict themſelves to Electuaries compoſed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural ſtupefaction; and when they are overcome with the obſcurity of this vapour, whatſoever you affirm though never ſo contradictory, they readily aſſent to, not ſo much (as they confeſs) from a perſwaſion to the propoſition

poſition more then another, but of a pleaſing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of their Sect allows of. And though they ſtile the *Eſchraki* Dogmatical and obſtinate opiniators; yet by experience it is obſerved that the *Mufties* Educated in the *Eſchrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate then thoſe of the *Hairetian* Sect; becauſe the former having a certain foundation of principles, have been cautious in ſigning *Fetfas*, or delivering their Sentence in the reſolution of weighty Matters of State, chooſing rather to renounce their Office, then their reaſon. But the others being negligent and incurious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part then ſolidity of judgement; have been always free and open in their Sentences; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the miſcarriage attributed to the councel of the *Mufti*, they have been oftner ſubject to the puniſhment of baniſhment or death then their Opponents.

We ſhall not procceed to ſwell this Work with a longer Catalogue of theſe Sects, leſt we ſhould ſeem over-tedious to the Reader, and inſtead of pleaſing his Palate, ſhould over-charge his Stomach; otherwiſe we might proceed to recite as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire, in every one of which ſome pragmatical Preacher or other have always ſtarted a new opinion, which can never want Diſciples. And certainly the diverſity of opinions in *Turky* is almoſt infinite, and more numerous then in *England*, or other parts of Chriſtendom, though commonly not proceeding from the ſame malice, nor laid with the ſame deſign to the prejudice of the State: the reaſon of this variety amongſt the *Turks* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for intereſt or by force have entered into the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, many of which being *Grecians*, and inſtructed in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flouriſhed, which was the Mine and Treaſury of Philoſophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly ſatisfyed with the *Alchoran*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers: And ſeveral other Nations, as *Ruſſians*, *Muſcovites*, *Chircaſſians*, and the like, retaining ſome few remembrances of their firſt Notions and Principles, make a farther addition to this ill compounded medley, which alſo receiving ſome difference and variety as they encreaſed and were propagated, have multiplyed to a number both unprofitable and tedious to ſearch farther into.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Derviſes.

IT is commonly known and received, that the *Turkiſh* Religion is an abſurd compoſition of the Chriſtian and Jewiſh Rites; in imitation of the former of which doubtleſs their Monaſteries and Orders of religious men were introduced; moſt of which incline to a pretended mortification and ſtrictneſs of life; to poverty, and renuntiation of the worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Chriſtians a thouſand

years

years paſt, whoſe piety and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated vertues.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, becauſe I find relations hereof ſparingly ſcattered in other Books, and that obſcurely without punctuality or certainty: But I ſhall promiſe my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the moſt Learned of their *Seighs* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiours of theſe Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious houſes and Inſtitutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and inſtructions were derived for their œconomy, firſt to his Diſciple *Hali*; but our *Turkiſh Hiſtory* and other Records make no mention of theſe Monaſteries, till within theſe three hundred and fifty years, in the time of *Orchanes* ſecond King of the *Turks*, who is famed to have been the firſt founder of Houſes of theſe Orders.

Thoſe of the *Mahometan* Faith, who firſt framed rules and inſtitutions for theſe Religions, were two, *viz.* *Chalvettee* and *Nackſbendee*, which after *Mahomet* are eſteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are proceeded, which are theſe following; from *Chalvettee* are derived

Nimetulahi from *Nimetula* *Kadri* from *Kadri* *Kalenderi* from *Kalendar* *Edhemi* from *Edhem* *Hizrevi* from *Hizr* *Bektaſſee* from *Bektaſh*.	The firſt Founders and Maſters of theſe Orders.

From *Nackſbendee* proceed only two, *viz.*

Ebrbuharee from *Ebrbuhar* *Mevelevee* from *Mevelava*.	Their Original Founders.

Theſe ſeveral Orders we ſhall diſtinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Mevelevee*, which though ſet down here laſt, yet becauſe for fame amongſt the *Turks*, they are the firſt, we ſhall moſt largely and particularly treat of them.

Their Superiour.

The *Mevelevee*, otherwiſe and moſt commonly named *Derviſe*, which word ſignifies Poor and renouncers of the world, have their chief and Superiour foundation in *Iconium*, which conſiſts of at the leaſt four hundred *Derviſes*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkiſh* Empire, by vertue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* firſt of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superiour in his Royal Throne, becauſe having been his Tutor, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his ſucceſſors ample Authority and Rule over all others of the ſame Profeſſion.

Their Poſtures.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modeſty, Charity and Silence,

Silence in preſence of their Superiour or others; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breaſt, and their bodies bending forwards.

Their ſhirts are of the courſeſt Linnen can be made, with a White Plad or Mantle about their ſhoulders: but moſt wear a looſe kind of Garment made of Wool at *Iconium* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour; their Caps or what they wear on their heads, is like the Crown of a Hat of the largeſt ſize, made of courſe *Camels* hair of a whitiſh colour; their Legs are always bare, and their Breaſts open, which ſome of them burn or ſear in token of greater devotion: they wear alſo a Leathern girdle with ſome ſhining ſtone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alabaſter, Porphyry, Ivory, or ſome thing that makes a great ſhew or luſter. Their Cloathing.

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The Habit of Dervises.

Beſides their Faſt of *Ramazan*, they keep a weekly Faſt on every *Thurſday*, on which day, none unleſs for ſome indiſpoſition of health or other lawful cauſe, hath licenſe to eat, until after Sun-ſetting. Their Faſts.

Every *Tueſday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or expoſition of ſome Verſes in the *Alchoran*, or out of the

Their turning round.

Books wrote by their Founder, or ſome other prime Doctor of the *Mahometan* Law; after which is done, the *Derviſes* with marvellous modeſty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, ſome of them with that ſwift motion, that their faces can ſcarce be ſeen; a certain Pipe made of a Cane, ſounding all the time of this motion; and on a ſudden when the Muſick ceaſes, they all ſtop with that exactneſs and firmneſs, ſhewing no ſymptoms of a diſordered or ſwimming brain; to which having accuſtomed themſelves from their infancy or youth, in ſome years that motion becomes as natural, with as little diſturbance to their Head or Stomach, as to walk forward, or to uſe any other exerciſe which nature is delighted with. This cuſtom (they ſay) they obſerve with great devotion in imitation of their firſt Founder *Mevelana*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any nouriſhment, uſed this Vertiginous motion by a miraculous aſſiſtance (his Friend *Hamze*, or Companion, all that time ſounding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at laſt falling into an extaſie, he received ſtrange Revelations, and divine commands for the inſtitution of this his Order: the Pipe they play on, they eſteem for an ancient and ſanctifyed ſort of Muſick, and to be that with which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Teſtament praiſed God.

It hath a doleful melancholy ſound; but their conſtant exerciſe and application thereunto makes it as Muſical as can be imagined in ſuch an Inſtrument: the beſt of thoſe Canes are eſteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollers price. But this ſort of devotion with inſtrumental Muſick, is by *Turks* themſelves diſputed againſt, denying that their Founder, who was ſo ſpiritual a man, did ever inſtitute, or himſelf uſe Muſick in his turning round, becauſe the *Alchoran* expreſsly forbids all devotion and ſervice of God with Muſick, but only with the natural and living voice; And that is the reaſon, why in calling their people to prayers they uſe no Bells, but only the voice of a man; and for this cauſe I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority againſt this practice of the *Derviſes*. But they on the contrary, alledging *Davids* example, and his Dancing before the Ark as Arguments for their Muſick and Giration, have by the help of ſeveral perſons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this cuſtom and inſtitution of the firſt Founder of this Order, notwithſtanding that one *Vanni Efendi* a great *Seigh* or Preacher, eſteemed as a knowing Perſon by the Grand Signior and all the Court, hath by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption (as he calls it) amongſt them.

Their Profeſſion.

They profeſs Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Friers or other Orders of St. *Francis*; but if any have not the gift of continence, he may obtain Licenſe to leave his Convent and marry; but of theſe, they obſerve that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to Gods Service.

Their Employment.

The Novices ſerve in the moſt ſervile Offices, and in time others ſupply their places; they lie as companions two together in a Cell, ſome of which employ their time in Learning to Read and Write in *Turkiſh*, *Arabick* and *Perſian*; but moſt yield for their ſlothful temperament to which they are naturally addicted: but becauſe the nature of man is reſtleſs, and muſt employ it ſelf either in good or bad actions; moſt of theſe

theſe aſſociates exerciſe ſome kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuſe the minds of the common people; and ſome really apply themſelves to Sorceries and Conjurations by help of familiar ſpirits. *Busbequius* tells ſtrange Stories of one with whom he was acquainted, that he would ſtrike a ſtone of great weight and bigneſs againſt his bare Breaſt with that force and violence as were ſufficient to knock down an Ox, or break the bones of the ſtouteſt Gyant; and that the ſame man he hath ſeen take an Iron Bar red-hot from the fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the ſpittle and moiſture of his mouth hiſſed with the heat, yet he ſeemed to take it thence again without the leaſt hurt or burning imaginable.

This ſort of people of all other *Turks*, addict themſelves to drink Wine, Strong-Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors; and eat *Opium* in that quantity, by degrees uſing their bodies thereunto, that no Mountebank or *Mithridates* himſelf who was nouriſhed with poiſon, are capable to digeſt half that proportion that theſe men will do; the effect of which is at firſt, like men drunk or mad, to raiſe their ſpirits to a ſort of diſtracted Mirth, and afterwards when the ſubtile vapours are conſumed and ſpent, and a dull ſtupefaction overcomes them, they name it an extaſie, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their firſt Founder, who was often obſerved to put himſelf into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite Mirth or diſtraction, is lawful and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monaſtery of theſe in *Egypt*, invocating for their Saint one *Kederlee*, which by the Stories they tell of him ſhould be St. *George*, in conformity with whom all other *Derviſes* maintain a Reverent eſteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life he was a valiant Horſeman, killed Dragons and all ſorts of venomous Beaſts; and now being departed this life, God for preſervation of good men hath given him power to deliver ſuch as being in diſtreſs, invokes his aſſiſtance; eſpecially thoſe who are at Sea, and at the point of ſhipwrack; and that he with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs of motion flies from one part of the world to another in the twinkling of an eye, and ſeaſonably comes in to their ſuccour. Theſe by vertue of that bleſſing *Kederlee* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents aud Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the moſt innocent and domeſtick creatures; which art, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* only to *Derviſes*, but to other men who are ſaid to be naturally endued with a vertue againſt the poiſonous bites of Vipers and other venomous Beaſts; who putting great numbers of them into a bag together, do cull and ſort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms or Muſcles; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of *Nile*, which gifts theſe men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to poſſeſs in reward of their vertues and Sanctity. This ſort of *Egyptian Derviſes* have Sainted the Horſe of St. *George*, and have ſeated him in Paradiſe with the other three beaſts in high reſpect and eſteem amongſt the *Turks*, *viz.* the Aſſe on which Chriſt rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the ſeven Sleepers.

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A Sort of Dervise that Travailes the World.

Theſe *Derviſes* have Monaſteries in the moſt famous places of the *Turkiſh* Empire, which ſerve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious *Turks*, journey and travel from one place to another, where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, under pretence of preaching and propagating their Faith; and thus they travel upon Charity of their Monaſteries and Alms of others into *Perſia*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Mogul*, by which means they become the beſt ſpies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eaſtern parts of the world.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have ſeen the Ruine of one of theſe Monaſteries ſituated on a pleaſant hill, and in good Air, that overſees the whole City and Plains round about; which upon enquiry I underſtand was demoliſhed by the famous Viſier *Kuperli*; becauſe it was diſcovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richeſt *Turks*, to whom their Huſbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often preſent at the devotion of the *Derviſes*; but their way of practice being too publick and ſcandalous, the Foundation of their houſe by the order of the Viſier was razed to the ground.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Order of Religious Turks *called* Ebrbûharee.

THis Order of *Ebrbûharee* was firſt inſtituted by their founder and inſtitutor *Ebrbuhar*, from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his Maſter *Nackſbende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevelevee* or *Derviſes* are derived: for the better underſtanding this ſort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentick diſcourſe relating to their manners and original, which I ſhall deliver *Verbatim* as given me in writing by one eſteemed Learned amongſt the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and made it his buſineſs to inform me of this Sect. *Sultan Bajazet*, ſaid he, in the year of *Mahomet* nine hundred and eleven, erected a *Moſch* and Convent in *Conſtantinople*, dedicated to this Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar* (that is of the race of *Mahomet*) upon whom reſt the mercy of the Creator. This man both extrinſecally as to appearance in the world, and intrinſecally as to his devout ſoul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked; on which Fabrick *Sultan Selim* afterwards beſtowed a fountain of water.

This *Ebrbuhar* Scholar of *Nackſbende*, taking into his Company the aſſiſtance of *Abdulla* and *Ilahi* and *Vefa*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Aſia* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*. *Ilahi.*

Their actions were governed with Meekneſs, Gravity and Silence, and laying aſide all ſuperſtitious Worſhips, they exerciſe themſelves in pious actions; their diſcourſes amongſt themſelves were nothing in relation to the things of the world, but of Matters relating to a future life.

Theſe poor religious faſt for the moſt part on *Mundays* and *Thurſdays*; and both they and thoſe devoted to their order abſtain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungrateful ſmells, and in this manner theſe devout people exerciſed in abſtinence and a moral life, and ſwallowed up or tranſported with the illumination of God, and attending to their daily prayers, Commemoration of Gods mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy diſpoſition and preparation for Celeſtial glory.

As to the Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar*, whoſe Myſterious life may God ſanctifie to us; was nouriſhed with Bread made of Barley, Oil of Olives, Honey and Grapes, and abſtained from all things of a ſtrong ſcent or ſavour, he eat but three times a year, giving himſelf continually to Faſting and Prayer; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive vertue was grateful to all, to his Feet from divers Countries were many diſeaſed perſons brought, which afterwards returned ſound and healthful to their own homes; all which is the relation of my Doctor and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

In commendation of the religious of this Order, are theſe Verſes in the *Perſian* tongue:

Gher hakiki iahi der gehan bulendi
Nakſchibendi Kiun Nakſchibendi; that is,

If thou wouldſt find in the world one accompliſhed as a true *Heroe*, make thy ſelf a *Nakſchibendi*, who is the true pattern of a Servant of God.

And notwithſtanding this great pretended purity and ſanctity of theſe men, they are yet by the generality eſteemed Hereticks in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, becauſe they judge themſelves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, by reaſon of their pretended purity of ſoul and Seraphick Raptures, which elevate them above the world, and enable them in their very Cells to be preſent, or have a clear Proſpect into their Holy *Mecha*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE ſort of thoſe who are accounted in the number of *Chalvetti* is the *Nimetulahi*; they had their beginning in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and ſeverity of life in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks Ilderim*, or the Son of Thunder; He was an excellent Phyſician, and renowned for his vertues amongſt the vulgar; for better knowledge of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Maſter.

He was one, ſaid he, who preached and publiſhed the truth, mortifyed his body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intrinſick nature and Quiddity of all creatures, rendred continual Prayers and Praiſes to his Creator; and ſo long reſigned himſelf entirely to ſpeculation, until he arrived to the Raviſhment of Extaſies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happineſs to diſcourſe with God.

He eat of all thoſe things which God made lawful for humane nouriſhment, without obſervation of Faſts or ſtrictneſs in Diet, but day and night continued in his prayers and devotions: whilſt he ſlept he extended not his feet like the beaſts of ſenſe, who eat Corn and Hay in the Stables; ſometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance became melancholy and affrighted with the apprehenſion of his Majeſty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledge of the divine Secrets.

The profeſſors of this Order aſſemble every *Munday* night to praiſe the Unity of the Divine Nature, and Celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Thoſe that would initiate themſelves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine firſt, or remain ſequeſtred in a Chamber for the ſpace of forty dayes, with twenty four drams of Meat a day, during which

which time they ſee the face of God, the ſublime Paradiſe, and praiſe the Creator and Framer of the Univerſe; at the expiration of their term, they are taken forth by the reſt of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Morris*; in which Vagary, if any Viſion appear to the Novices from God, they throw their Cloaths behind them, and fall flat with their faces on the ground, like men aſhoniſhed or ſtrook with an Apoplexy, until ſuch time as the Prior or chief of their Order coming and making prayers for them, they return by degrees to their ſenſe again, and taking them up with their eyes red and diſtorted, they remain a while like men drunk, diſtracted or ſtupid; but afterwards their ſcattered ſpirits being better collected, the Prior demands in ſecret their Viſions and Revelations, which they communicate to him, or ſome other ſerious and grave perſon well inſtructed in the Myſteries of their profeſſion.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THis is another of thoſe ſix Religions which are derived from *Chalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its firſt Founder, a man greatly admired for his wiſdom and abſtinence, whoſe Sepulchre is found without *Babylon*, to which place many of thoſe who enter into the Regular Orders of theſe Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Thoſe who enter into this Religion, muſt perform their Novitiate with degrees of abſtinence and faſting; wherefore when firſt they take the profeſſion upon them, there is beſtowed upon them a ſmall Cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when freſh and green four hundred drams, which they are always to carry about them hung at their Girdle; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of bread, until ſuch time as the Wood becoming exceeding dry, is alſo much the lighter, and ſo according as the weight thereof lightens, their proportion of Bread diminiſhes.

Beſides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to ſpend the whole or beſt part of the night with turning round at the ſound of a little Pipe, and to utter this word, *Hai*, *Hai*, which ſignifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God: and this they do in imitation of the Cuſtom uſed by their Founder, who is ſaid to have pronounced this word *Hai*, ſo often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breaſt burſting, the blood guſhed out upon the Wall, and made the word *Hai*. Wherefore all his Diſciples to follow the example of their Maſter, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word, *Hai*, *Hai*, with ſo much violence, and ſo often, until they fall on the ground without breath or life; thoſe who laſt out longeſt carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their ſpirits after their ſtrained exerciſe; and this they do every *Friday* night. Every one of theſe are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or converſation, during which

which time they are wholly to give themſelves to meditations, and to obſerve their dreams, and ſo recount them to their Superiour, who ſtudies the interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times licenſe from their Superiour, to be drunk or intoxicate themſelves with *Aquâ vitæ*, *Opium*, or any ſtupifying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more ſpirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

Theſe fellows are of a refined wit, notable Sophiſters and Hypocrites; their ſecrets they reveal to none but thoſe of their own profeſſion, by which means they are ſubtle to cheat thoſe of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the liberty of Marriage, but if they do marry they are excluded from the Convent, and may wear any ſort of habit, yet for diſtinction ſake they wear Black Buttons; thoſe that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plad of a Courſe Cloth, their Heads with hair unſhaven, without Caps or other covering, and their feet bare. Theſe are called *Kadri*, and have a Convent at *Tophana* in *Conſtantinople*.

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have ſaid before, *Abdul Kadir Ghilan*, was born in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* five hundred ſixty one, and dyed in the year ſix hundred fifty ſeven; he was eſteemed both a Lawyer and a Philoſopher; his Maſter or Inſtructer was *Abdul Mumin Gazeli*, who compoſed two Books, one called *Mugrib* or the *Arabian* Grammar, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Helakin* Son of *Genghiz Han* came to *Babylon*, he cauſed him to kill one *Alkami* then Vice-King of that City, for being of the *Perſian* Sect, called by the *Turks Raſizi* or Hereticks, becauſe they reject *Abubecher*, *Omar* and *Oſman*, as Apocryphal Writers, and attribute not to them that honour of Holy men, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of this Order, teach their Diſciples a certain prayer, which they whiſper in their ears, that it may not be over-heard or known by others; this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermiſſion, unleſs at times ſet apart for the offices of nature; and boaſt that it hath ſo much of efficacy in it, that by the vertue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of divine viſions and revelations.

Their poſture is, like other Religious *Mahometans*, to ſit with their heads hanging down, and their Noſes in their Breaſts, which they call *Murakabe*; the better to keep them from diſtraction or wandring thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of ſatisfying the carnal appetite.

Amongſt the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Maſter, one is this, That coming once to *Babylon* to inhabit amongſt the other ſuperſtitious perſons and *Santones* of that City, they hearing of his approach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a diſh filled with water; from whence they would infer, that as that diſh was full to the brim ſo as to be capable of containing no more, ſo their City was ſo repleniſhed with Learned and Religious perſons, that there was no place to receive him: Whereupon this ſubtle Sophiſter ſtudying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby they

they would excuſe the courteſie of due Hoſpitality, ſtretching his arms firſt towards Heaven, and then bowed down and gathered a Roſe leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the diſh: by which piece of ingenuity, he not only confuted the parable of the Churliſh *Babylonians*, but alſo ſo took with them, that they regiſtred it as a Miracle of wiſdom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Superiour of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Order of Kalenderi.

a Santone or Holy man

THis Order may rather be termed the Sect of *Epicureans*, then men retired to mortifie their appetites, and deny the world, as all other of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this ſort of Fanaticks pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertiniſm and looſeneſs in their converſation; which they act ſo publickly, that they are not aſhamed to profeſs their inſtitution and cuſtoms to be after this manner.

In the time that *Mahomet Manſur* Son of *Melkaziz Ohoma* the Son of *Silahdin*, being ready to reſign up his laſt breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiamel*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; *Damaſcus* and *Jeruſalem* to his Son *Iſa Melik Muazin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Eſchrefmuſa*; There lived a certain *Santone*, who always mentioned the name of God with the ſound of his Pipe, and with that Muſick recreated himſelf day and night, not after a chearful and merry humour, but with ſad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Muſician, and a deep Philoſopher, endued with thoſe ſupernatural vertues as enabled him to work Miracles clear, and notorious to all the world; he was a *Hermite*, called in *Arabick Abdal*; went with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without Shirt or other Cloathing, beſides a Skin of ſome wild Beaſt thrown about his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore ſome finely poliſhed ſtone; his wriſts, inſtead of Diamonds or Stones of value, he wore counterfeit Jewels, which carried a luſtre and fair appearance with them; this man was called *Santone Kalenderi*, who was continually ſinging *Arabick* Sonnets, and according to them Muſical Airs, making alſo harmonious compoſitions ſo artificially, that he ſeemed another *David*. But how ſtrict and ſober ſoever this *Santone* was, his Diſciples or Proſelytes are of another temper, being wholly given up to Jollity and delights, they baniſh all kind of melancholy and ſadneſs, and live free of cares, paſſions or torments of the mind, and have this ſaying amongſt them, This day is ours, to morrow is his who ſhall live to enjoy it; and therefore ſtudiouſly attend to loſe no moment or leaſt part of their pleaſure, but conſume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will ſell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earrings and Bracelets. When they come to the houſe of any rich man or perſon of Quality, they accommodate themſelves to their humour, giving all the Family pleaſant words and chearful expreſſions to perſwade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Moſch*, and believe they ſerve God as much with debauchery or liberal uſe of his creatures (as they call it) as others with ſeverity and mortification. And the *Turks* ſay, That in the *Hegira* 615, the Chriſtians became Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, by reaſon that the Inſtitutor of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief hand in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was aſſaulted.

CHAP.

CHAP: XVIII.

Of the Edhemi.

A Religious man of the Order of Edhemi.

THe original Founder of this Order was one *Ibrahim Edhem*, concerning whom the Diſciples themſelves, or Followers recount things very obſcurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abaſine* by Nation, and went one day under the Fort *Horanan* to diſcourſe with *Ibnimelik* King of *Cairo*, that he was a man very comely, facetious and ſober in his carriage, always deſiring to pleaſe God, continued in the *Moſchs* reading the *Alchoran*, and in prayer day and night with his face proſtrate on the ground, and often repeating theſe words;

"O God, thou haſt given me ſo much wiſdom, as that I know clearly "that I am in thy direction; and therefore ſcorning all power and domi- "nion, I reſign my ſelf to the ſpeculation of Philoſophy and a holy life.

His Servants ſeeing this his devout way of living, applyed themſelves to the imitation of his Auſterity, and abandoning all greatneſs and vanities of the vvorld, applyed themſelves to ſolitude and mortification; their ſuperfluous garments they beſtowed on the Poor, giving to thoſe whoſe neceſſities required them.

Their food is Bread made of Barley, and Pray frequently with Faſting, and their Priors apply themſelves much to a faculty in Preaching.

Their principal Convents are in Cities of *Perſia*, eſpecially *Choraſan*.

Their Cloathing is of a courſe thick Cloth, upon their heads they wear a Cap of Wool, with a Turbant round it, and about their necks a white Linnen Cloth ſtriped with red. In the Deſerts they converſe with Lions and Tigers, ſalute them and make them tame, and by the miraculous power of divine aſſiſtance entertain diſcourſe with *Enoch* in the Wilderneſs; This and many other wild diſcourſes they make of this *Edhem*, but becauſe there are but few of this Order in *Conſtantinople*, being moſt appropriated to *Perſia*; I could not receive ſo particular an account of their Rule and Inſtitutions, as I have done of others.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Order of Bectaſſe.

THe original Founder of this Religion, is of no ancient Memory or ſtanding, nor had his Birth or Education amongſt the *Santones* of *Arabia*, from whence moſt of theſe ſuperſtitious pretenders have had their beginning; but one of thoſe that was an Army-Preacher, that could fight as well as pray, of whom my learned *Hogia* gives me this account.

In the time (ſays he) *that the Warlike and Victorious* Sultan Amurath *paſſed with his Army into* Servia, *and overcame* Lazarus, *the Deſpot of that Country, and ſlew him in Battel,* Becktaſh *was then Preacher to* Amurath; *who amongſt other of his admonitions forewarned him of truſting the* Servians; *but* Amurath *out of his couragious ſpirit relying on his own wiſdom and force admitted a certain Nobleman called* Vilvo, *upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiſs his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, ſtabbed* Amurath *to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr.* Becktaſh *knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, muſt needs alſo be the cauſe of his, for being ſo near his Perſon, and propheſying of this fatal ſtroke, ſought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himſelf with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all thoſe which were his admirers, and Proſelytes, to be kiſſed as a mark of their obedience to him and to his inſtitutions; from this action the cuſtom hath been introduced of kiſſing the ſleeve of the Grand Signior.*

Vid. Chap. 20. lib. 1.

The Religious of this Order wear on their heads white Caps of ſeveral pieces with Turbants of Wool, twiſted in the faſhion of a Rope, they obſerve conſtantly the hours of Prayer, which they perform in their own Aſſemblies; they go Cloathed in White, and praiſe the Unity of God, crying, Hu

(*which*

(which is, may he live) and by theſe means obtain the Grace of God.

This Santone *hath many millions of Diſciples and Followers; now all the* Janizaries *of the* Ottoman *Port are profeſſors of the ſame Religion. This* Bectaſh *at his death cut off one of his ſleeves, and put it upon the head of one of his religious men, part of which hung down on his ſhoulders, ſaying, after this, you ſhall be* Janizaries, *which ſignifies a new Militia; and from that time began their original inſtitution, ſo this is the reaſon why the* Janizaries *wear Caps falling behind after the manner of ſleeves called* Ketche. *This* Hagi Bectaſh *was a perſon exceedingly attractive in his converſation, holy to admiration, a man of great worth, and Majeſtick in his comportment, he was buried in the City* Kyr, *where they have many Convents and Religious followers, who always praiſe and adore God: and thus far my* Hogia *informs me.*

But whatſoever he ſays, this Order is the moſt abhorred in the world by the *Kadizadeli*, becauſe that *Bectaſh* left it to the free will of his Diſciples, either to obſerve the conſtant hours of prayer or not; by which great liberty and licentiouſneſs is entered amongſt the *Janizaries*, who are Souldier-like, not over zealous or devout in their Prayers, little attendant to the offices of devotion. In ſome Songs which this *Bectaſh* is ſaid to have compoſed, it is often repeated, that none hath known God, becauſe none hath ſeen him: And for this reaſon the moſt zealous *Mahometans* call the *Janizaries Keſereſis*, which ſignifies without faith; and a certain *Mufti* called *Ebuſuud* delivered his ſentence or *Fetſa*, to the queſtion demanded him; if a *Muſſelman* or Believer ſhould ſay to a *Janizary*, thou art a *Pagan*, what puniſhment he ſhould merit by the Law? he replyed, that a man is an Infidel, who holds a *Janizary* for a true Believer.

Some Friers of this Order of *Bectaſh* do in all publick ſhews and ſolemnities march near the perſon of the *Janizar Aga*, crying continually, *Hu, Hu*, with their Daggers drawn. They are a moſt licentious ſort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and looſe ſort of *Janizaries* are willingly their Diſciples; and are now grown into that vaſt multitude, as is almoſt impoſſible to extirpate them or their vices; though corroſives are laid to eat away this Gangreen in the Militia, which goes creeping on with an unſenſible pace; as we ſhall diſcourſe more largely in the next Book of the *Turkiſh* Militia.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Order of Herewi *or* Hizrevi.

IN the time of *Orchanes* the ſecond King of the *Turks*, who Governed thirty five years and Reigned eighty three, and dyed in the *Hegira* of *Mahomet* ſeven hundred and ſixteen, there lived in *Pruſa*, then the Regal Seat, a famous *Santone* called *Herewi*, who uſed to walk up and down, and as an act of charity to buy the Livers and Lights of Beaſts to feed Cats and Dogs; he profeſſed poverty and ſevere mortification with Tears and Sighs, which he acted with that fervency that the Angels

leaving

leaving Heaven, came to be witneſs of his holy penance. The fame of which moved *Sultan Orchanes* to diſcourſe with him, and to know the ſtory of his paſt life; which he ſmiling began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King derived from the Line of *Mahomet*, had compaſſed with his arms the Rivers of *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, had governed Provinces with his Sword and Scepter, had been gloriouſly and triumphantly adorned with precious Stones and glittering Arms, and had made the world tremble at the very mention of his name. But at laſt conſidering the vanity of this world, he reſolved on a ſolitary life, and to renounce all the follies and ſmall ſatisfactions of Riches and empty Honours. At which ſaying, *Sultan Orchanes* was amazed, and ſaid, We ought not to deſpiſe thoſe who under the guiſe and appearance of mad and diſtracted perſons wander through the world; for their vertues are rare; and in this man particularly I diſcover ſo much of ſanctity, that I judge my ſelf unworthy the name of one of his Servants. And this is the reaſon, why Fools and Frantick people have ever ſince been had in Honour and reverence amongſt the *Turks*, as thoſe whom Revelations and Enthuſiaſms tranſported out of the ordinary temperament of humanity.

This *Herewi* was very Learned and Experienced in Chymiſtry; and to thoſe who profeſſed his Order and entred into the regular life of his Religion, inſtead of Aſpers he beſtowed Gold; he wore a Green Veſt; and lived very abſtemiouſly; he mended his own Cloaths, and dreſſed the Dyet for his Convent. He endowed many *Moſchs* and ſeveral Hoſpitals of Charity at *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*. His Sepulchre is at *Pruſa*, which is greatly viſited by Pilgrims, and adorned by the Bounty and Munificence of thoſe who reverence the Memory of this holy *Santone*.

This is the beſt relation I could procure from one of the *Sheighs* or Preachers, and one that was Prior of this Order, whoſe example, as the original Copy, others of this Order imitate. They have a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, as all the others before mentioned, beſides which in this Capital City, nor in any parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions in *Europe*, have I obſerved any *Teke* or Monaſtery, where *Turks* profeſs to lead a Religious life, but is one of the Orders before mentioned; ſome others there may be about *Babylon* and *Egypt*, and remoteſt parts of *Aſia*, whoſe names and conſtitutions I have not repeated here, who have (as I am informed) ſomewhat more of ridiculous and ſuperſtitious Worſhip amongſt them than I have declared in the account I have given of thoſe I have been acquainted with in the parts I have travelled; yet it is obſervable they all of them pretend to poverty, as the neareſt way to arrive the happineſs of Paradiſe; but with their poverty (as I have ſeen in ſome of their *Tekes* where I have been, eſpecially thoſe removed from Cities) they mix ſo much negligence in their living, not caring for neatneſs in their Houſes, but leave all things in a diſorderly and confuſed manner, as teſtifies their lazineſs as well as poverty; and are not like the Cells of *Capuchins*, who having nothing to attend to beſides their Prayers and Gardens, improve all things with that advantage, as graces Poverty, and convinces the World that in a moderate enjoyment of it there is more ſatisfaction, than in thoſe vexations which attend the diſpoſal and government of heaps of riches, and the

ſatiety

ſatiety of opulency and plenty. It is worth noting alſo, that on the Monuments of *Santones* and in the Gardens, or before the Gates of theſe Religious, there is always ſome ridiculous adornment, ſuch as agrees with the fancy of Bedlams; as Crowning the Hearſe of the dead with Beads, and Horns, and Ribbonds, and pieces of Tinſel, *&c.* and their doors with the like; accounting it a chief diſpoſition to Divine Service to have a mind endued with an humour inclining to the fancy of Hypocondriacal or diſtracted heads, ſo that I ſhall not enlarge farther in this Diſcourſe, nor to glut my Reader with ſo Inſipid and Fulſome a ſubject.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Marriages and Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongſt the Turks.

The Habit of the Women in Conſtantinople.

The

THe ſtate of Marriage is accounted both honourable and holy amongſt the *Turks*, by which the race of Mankind is beſt encreaſed and maintained; yet the Prieſt as I may call him, or their Church-man, hath the leaſt hand in the Solemnity; the matter as an action wholly civil, is performed before the *Caddee* or Judge; not unlike the manner practiſed in *England* for ſome few years, according to that abſurd Act of Marriages by a Juſtice of Peace; and is in the nature of a Recogniſance, whereby the Husband doth perſonally oblige himſelf before the Judge to take ſuch a Wife, and in caſe of his Death or Divorce, to endow her with a certain Eſtate to remain to her own diſpoſal. The Woman is not there preſent, but appears by her Father or ſome of her neareſt Relations, and is afterwards by a great attendance of Women brought covered, ſitting aſtride on Horſe-back under a Canopy to the Habitation of her Bridegroom, who remains at the Gate with open arms to receive her; there is great Rejoycing and Feaſting hereat, the night before ſhe is brought to the Company of her Husband; but when the precedent Ceremonies to the Marriage are performed and compleated, the Houſe is all ſilent, and ſhe is brought into the Bride-Chamber by an Eunuch (if ſhe be of Quality) if not, by ſome Women of near Relation, and delivered to her Husband, who is himſelf to untie her Drawers, and undreſs her for his bed, not unlike the cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* of *Zonam ſolvere*.

Polygamie is freely indulged to them by their Religion as far as the number of four Wives, contrary to the common report, that a *Turk* may have as many Wives as he can maintain; Though *Mahomet* had nine Wives, and *Hali* had fourteen, as being men more ſpiritual and of a more elevated degree, had greater priviledges and indulgences for carnal enjoyments.

This reſtraint of the number of their Wives is certainly no Precept of their Religion, but a rule ſuperinduced upon ſome politick conſiderations, as too great a charge and weakning to mens Eſtates, every one that takes a Wife being obliged to make her a Kabin or Dowry, as we have ſaid before; or elſe for better Regulation of the œconomies, and to prevent and abate ſomewhat of the Jealouſies, Strifes and Embroilments in a Family; which muſt neceſſarily ariſe between ſo many Rivals in the affection of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants, to deal and beſtow his benevolence and conjugal kindneſs in an exact proportion of equality. And leſt this confinement to a certain number of Wives, ſhould ſeem a reſtriction and impeachment of that liberty and free uſe of Women which they ſay, God hath frankly beſtowed on man; every one may freely ſerve himſelf of his Women Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain; and this kind of Concubinage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, ſo long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have ſome reaſonable ſhare in the Huſbands bed, which once a week is their due by the Law; for if any of them hath been neglected the whole week before, ſhe challenges *Thurſday* night as her due, and hath remedy in that caſe againſt her Huſband by the Law; and if ſhe be ſo modeſt as not to ſue him for one weeks default, ſhe is yet ſo ingenious to contrive a ſupply of her wants: And whereas theſe Women are Educated with much retiredneſs from the

the converſation of men, and conſequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of virtue of moral honeſty or Religion, as to a future *S*tate relating to the rewards or puniſhments of their good or bad actions; they are accounted the moſt laſcivious and immodeſt of all Women, and excel in the moſt refined and ingenious ſubtilties to ſteal their pleaſures; And as in Chriſtendom the Huſband bears the diſgrace and ſcandal of his Wives incontinency; here the horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brothers, and Kindred; the bloud of her Family is tainted and diſhonoured, and the Huſband obtaining a Divorce, quits himſelf of his Wife and diſhonour together.

No queſtion but the firſt Inſtitutor of this eaſie Religion, next to the ſatisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this taking freedom amongſt his Diſciples; his main conſideration was the encreaſe of his people by *Poligamie*, knowing that the greatneſs of Empires and Princes conſiſts more in the numbers and multitudes of their people, than the compaſs or large extent of their dominions. This freedom (if it may be called ſo) was granted at the beginning of the world for the propagation and encreaſe of mankind; and the Jews had that permiſſion and indulgence to their looſe and wandring affections, and we read that the Eaſtern parts of the world have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Father; and that ordinarily a Great Perſonage in *Egypt* hath been attended with a hundred luſty Sons in the field, proceeding from his own Loins, well Armed, and daring in all attempts of VVar. But yet this courſe thrives not ſo well amongſt the *Turks* as formerly; whether it be thought their accurſed Vice of *Sodomie*, or that God bleſſes not ſo much this State of life, as when the paucity of Mankind induced a ſort of a neceſſity and plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcileable emulation and Rivalty which is amongſt many Wives, thoſe Witchcrafts and *S*orceries (which in this Country are very frequent) are prepared againſt the envied fruitfullneſs each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwiſe their children pine & macerate away with ſecret & hidden charms, by which means they are now obſerved not to be ſo fruitfull and numerous, as is the Marriage-bed of a ſingle Wife; nor is the Family ſo well regulated, and orderly as under the Conduct and good Huſwifery of one Woman, but contrarily filled with noiſe, brawls and diſſentions, as paſſes the wiſdom of the Huſband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitrator of their differences, which conſideration reſtrains many, though otherwiſe inclineable enough to gratifie their Appetites from incumbring themſelves with ſo great an inconvenience; and I have known ſome though childleſs, have adhered to a ſingle Wife, and preferred Quiet and Repoſe, before the contentment of their Offſpring.

The Children they have by their ſlaves, are equally eſteemed with thoſe they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Turcæ minus honoris defe-runt natis ex concubinis aut pellicibus quam ex uxoribus, neque illi minus in bona paterna juris habent*, Buſbeq. Ep. 1.

But yet with this difference in eſteem of the *L*aw, that unleſs the Father manumiſſes them by his teſtament, and confers a livelihood upon

them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born from the Wife, and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Maſter; and it is with them, as in the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem ſequitur*; So that from the Loins of the ſame Father, may proceed Sons of a ſervile and ingenious condition.

There is alſo another ſort of half Marriage amongſt them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time: and an agreement is made for the prize before the *Cadee* or Judge: and this Strangers oftentimes uſe, who have not the gift of Continency, and are deſirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the ſame which they term in *Spain* to be *Emancibado*, or *Caſado de Media Carta*, only the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in *Turkey*.

There is another ſort of Marriages commonly uſed amongſt the *Turks* (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is the conjunction of an Eunuch with a VVoman; ſuch I mean as are wholly diſarmed of all parts of virility, do notwithſtanding take many VVives, and exerciſe Luſts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is alſo one point or reſtriction of Matrimony in the *Turkiſh* Religion which is obſervable; that is, a *Mahometan* may marry himſelf with what VVoman ſoever, though eſteemed an Infidel, as a Chriſtian, Jew, or any other different profeſſion, ſo it be of thoſe who are of a Learned Religion, of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but ſuch VVomen as are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of Learning or of written Law, as the ſect of *Meiuzee*, who adore the fire, conſerving it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of *Perſia*, but principally in ſome Countries of *Mogul*; and alſo the Gipſie VVomen are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongſt the *Turks*:) a Vagabond people without Law or Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous; and having no literature or knowledge amongſt them, are reputed as abominable amongſt the *Turks*.

And here the *Turks* upon occaſional diſcourſes of the ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of the Chriſtian Diſcipline in matters of Concupiſcence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the marriage Bed, & that reſtrained and confined to one VVife, without the additions of Slaves to ſatisfie with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Luſt and Concupiſcence pollute the purity of the ſoul; *And that whoſoever looks on a woman to Luſt after her, commits adultery in his heart*; They preſently deride theſe our Precepts and our Laws, which Chriſtians not only by their actions & corrupted lives contemn and invalid, but Authority it ſelf not by a ſimple connivance only, but by indulgence and priviledges, foments and encourages perſons walking contrary to that which is confeſſed to be an indiſpenſable Law. For proof whereof, they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and profeſſion in *Venice*, *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*, and the *Cantoneras* in *Spain*, and framed into a Politick body (as it is related and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Taxes and impoſitions are raiſed: The *Turks* comprehend not the Politick grounds hereof, with which in *Italy* this Maxime is defended nor is it fitting to produce the reaſons or argue it with them; ſince the

benefit

benefit which accrews to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits that ariſe thence, being employed in maintenance of Gallies and Forces againſt Infidels, is the beſt can be ſaid to hallow this permiſſion; but 'tis an improper argument with a *Turk* to excuſe this Licenſe and Authority to ſin, upon conſiderations of being better able to War againſt the Profeſſors of his Religion. And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Diſeaſes and Foulneſs, than the wandring Luſts of Stews or impudence of *Corteſans*, made bold and hard-foreheaded by conceſſion of Authority.

Pudet hæc opprobria Nobis
Et dici potuiſſe, &c.

Amongſt all the priviledges that the *Sultan* enjoys above his ſubjects, this one hath leſs than they, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as ſerves his uſe, though never ſo libidinous, or are requiſite for the Oſtentation and great Magnificence of his Court, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſtern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This diſuſe of Marriage in the *Sultan*, hath been a Maxime of State, and reckoned amongſt the *Turks*, *inter Arcana imperii*, from the time of *Bajazet*, untill this very Age: the reaſons hereof are diverſly related. *Busbequius* ſaith, That *Bajazet* after the great Victory obtained againſt him by *Tamerlane*, to his other great Misfortunes and Diſgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Deſpina* whom he dearly loved, to fall into the hands of the Conquerour, whoſe ignominious and undecent treatment before the eyes of her Huſband, was a matter of more diſhonour and ſorrow, than all the reſt of his afflictions: ſo that ever ſince that time, the *Sultans* to freet hemſelves from being capable of that diſgrace on occaſion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loſs of Goods, Riches, or Eſtate. But in my opinion, this policy is of a deeper reach and deſign, than the conſiderations of matters ſo meerly poſſible; for as I have heard, the only ſign and ceremony of a *Sultan* making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *Kabin*, which is *Dowry*, but *Paſhmaluck* or money for her Shooes; which beſides Preſents, Jewels and Rich Garments for her ſelf, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valede* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thouſand Dollars yearly rent; ſo that were this cuſtom in uſe, and meeting with the diſpoſition of ſome Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Channels in which the Treaſure ought to run for nouriſhment of the Politick body of the Common-wealth. Beſides were it the cuſtom for *Sultans* to take wives, it would contract that main principle of Policy amongſt them, of avoiding Alliances and far Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principle reaſon of the murder of *Sultan Oſman*, tenth Emperor of the *Turks*, contrived

by the Rebellion and Toleration of the Souldiery: it being objected that he had Marryed a *Soltana*, whereby he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Empire.

The tye and ſolemnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongſt the *Turks*, is as before related: from which the Woman hath no ways to unlooſe her ſelf, whilſt the Huſband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Wood, and Flax to ſpin for her cloathing; the Law ſuppoſes her ſo induſtrious a Houſwife as with her own labour to ſupply her ſelf: there are ſome other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impotency or frigidity in the Huſband, and the like; but the man hath divers means to acquit himſelf, and can do it by ſeveral allegations; and may upon as eaſie terms, and on as ſlight grounds ſue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the Jews in caſes of diſlike, or that ſhe found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongſt the *Turks* three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Juſtice, and by him drawn out and regiſtred. The firſt ſeparates the Man and Wife only from the ſame Houſe and Bed, the maintenance of a Wife being ſtill continued; The ſecond not only divides them in that manner, but the huſband is compelled to make good her *Kabin* which is a Joynture or Dowry promiſed at her marriage, ſo as to have no intereſt either in him or his Eſtate, and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third ſort of Divorce which is called (*Ouch Talac*) is made in a ſolemn and more ſerious manner, with more rigorous terms of ſeparation, and in this caſe the huſband repenting of his Divorce, and deſirous to re-take his wife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her without firſt conſenting and contenting himſelf to ſee another man enjoy her before his face, which condition the Law requires as a puniſhment of the huſbands lightneſs and inconſtancy, and as an evidence to ſhew that though the *Turkiſh* Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it puniſhes ſuch as unadviſedly fruſtrate the ſolemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and diſgrace. Notwithſtanding ſome afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the condition, and have choſen ſome handſome youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that is told of one, who in this caſe being put to a great ſtraight, reſolved to call the firſt man he conveniently met to this Office, that ſo as one unknown his reputation might be the leſs concerned: the man he firſt lighted on happened to be a *Kaickgee* or Boat-man, who it ſeems ſo well ſatisfied and pleaſed the Wife, that ſhe afterwards renounced all intereſt in her Huſband, and reſolved to adhere to her new Lover, of whom ſhe ſuppoſed ſhe had ſufficient proof and acquaintance with already to eſteem a better Huſband than her former. There are but few amongſt the *Turks*, though ſome are found, who ſo heartily repent of their Divorce, and ſo fond of their ſeparated wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing condition: for it is reputed a kind of an abomination; and when they would ſignifie any matter far alienated, or eſtranged, they all call it (*Ouch Talac*) ſome thing ſo divided and ſeparated as to be a Sin and prophanation ſo much as to covet or deſire it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh *Religion.*

Of Circumciſion.

CIrcumciſion is not reckoned amongſt one of the five points which conſtitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but tis only (as we have ſaid before) propoſed as a tryal and proof of mans obedience to the more neceſſary parts of the Law. This rite of Circumciſion is not received by them as an Article of Precept delivered expreſly from the *Alchoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and uſe amongſt the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Iſhmael* or *Eſau* whoſe progeny they are, and from thence give themſelves the name of *Iſhmaelites*. The *Arabian* Doctors affirm that *Mahomet* himſelf was born without a Navel, and naturally circumciſed; perhaps to equal the ſame ſtory which the Jews report of *Moſes*, and ſome others of the Patriarchs, and it ſeems in thoſe Countries where circumciſion is in practice, that it is not unuſual for Children to be ſo born; who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the vertue of the Moon hath more than ordinary manner of influence. *Credebant ſiquidem Arabes, quod ille qui ſub lunæ radiis naſceretur, contrahi perinde ac circumciſum præputium.* *Pocockii notæ de Arabum moribus.*

The *Turks* never circumciſe their Children untill the age of ſeven years and upwards; and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgion, it not being eſteemed a matter appropriated to the office of the *Emaum* or Prieſt; for (as we have ſaid before) they make no ſuch diſtinction as Clergy and Laity; I mean, as to any ſpiritual Character of Prieſthood; for a man may cry upon the Steeple to day, and like their paſtor be the firſt to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alchoran* in the Pulpit; and next day be expelled his Pariſh, and become free to any other ſecular employment or profeſſion: they obſerve ſome ceremonies amongſt them on this occaſion, often differing according to the Country and place; but commonly the child is ſet on horſe-back in his beſt cloaths, attended with his School-fellows and companions, who with loud ſhouts repeat ſome words in the *Alchoran*; and being brought home, and the act of circumciſion performed, he is carefully attended for his cure, and in the mean time there is a feaſt or banquet prepared for the Gueſts; thoſe who of riper years become *Mahometans* in ſome places are carried about the Town on horſe-back, with a dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, ſignifying that they will rather ſuffer themſelves to be paſſed through with that inſtrument, than renounce that faith they then profeſs. And this circumciſion is an admiſſion and introduction of them into the number of the faithful, as it is amongſt the Jews, and Baptiſm with the Chriſtians.

Ceremonies at the Circumciſion.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the five neceſſary points which are required to conſtitute a true Mahometan.

Of *their* Waſhings.

THough *Mahomet* ſaith in the *Alchoran*, that his Religion is founded in cleanneſs, & that it is half of his Law; yet much before *Mahomets* time waſhings were obſerved according to the ſame preſcriptions by the *Arabians*, who deſcending from *Iſhmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of waſhings: and he had no other ſhare in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the profeſſors of his ſect. The *Turks* are certainly very cleanly people in their exterior manner of living; as in their waſhings relating to their holy exerciſes and duties, they are very preciſe and ſuperſtitious; ſome of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulneſs of their ſins, as well as from the uncleannſs eof their bodies: There being three ſorts of waſhings obſerved by them.

The firſt is called *Abdeſt*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entring the *Maſch*, or reading the *Alchoran*; they firſt waſh their hands and arms, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under the noſe, and laſt of all their feet; but if the weather be cold, and not convenient to uncover them, it is ſufficient, if they make ſome evidence thereof by any other outward ſignification.

The ſecond is called *Guſul*, which is the cleanſing of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; untill which time a man is called *Giunub*, that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by men.

The third is *Taharet*, which is a waſhing after the eaſe or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they deſign the three laſt fingers of the left hand; and upon this account they call Chriſtians *Taharatſis*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleanſing. And waſhing is ſo uſual and frequent amongſt them both before and after meat, as hath cauſed a common proverb amongſt them, that God hath created meat that men may have occaſion often to waſh their hands.

Secondly of their prayers. After their waſhing follow their prayers, which *Mahomets* to recommend to his diſciples the force and virtue of prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the pillar of religion, and the key of paradiſe, & enjoyned the performance five times in the ſpace of twenty four hours, *viz.* between the day-breaking and Sun-riſing, called *Sabanamaſee*; Secondly, at noon, called *Vlenamaſee*; Thirdly, at the middle hour, between the noon & the ſetting of the Sun, called *Kindinamaſee*; Fourthly, at Sun-ſetting called *Acſhanamaſee*; Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *Yachinamaſee*; this action they perform with very much reverence & devotion, and hold that they ought to be ſo intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious act towards God, that

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no buſineſs of the world, though the execution of the *Sultans* decree ſhould in the ſame moment be commanded, or fire ſhould burſt forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their prayers, to extinguiſh or oppoſe themſelves againſt their inevitable deſtruction: it is much, in my opinion that Infidels ſhould be poſſeſſed with that awe and ſenſe of the Divine Majeſty in the time of their audience with him; and yet that Friers and others of the *Roman* Church obliged to their Office, as the *Turk* to his *Namas*, ſhould perform it ſo perfunctorily, as to mix the diſcourſe of buſineſs with the repetition of their breviary, and joyn with their reſponſals anſwers and reſolutions of queſtions are made them; and ſo ſatisfie themſelves in the *Opus operatum*, as if it were more important to comply with his command who impoſed the office, than with his who primarily enjoined the ſacrifice of prayer.

The form of their prayers is not extracted out of the *Alchoran*, only the collections of ſentences, as in the Name of God, God is great and mercifull, and the like, are deduced from thence (as Chriſtians do from the fountain of the holy Scriptures) the reſt is compiled by the four Doctors we have before mentioned, *viz. Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Ozman*, and *Ali*; whoſe names are wrote in golden Characters on the walls of moſt *Moſchs:* herein they obſerve many poſtures and geſtures of their body, as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body kneeling, touching the ground with their forehead, moving the head to each ſide, and the like; in which it is difficult to make diſtinction of thoſe meerly invented & ordained by *Mahomet*, from thoſe which were primarily in uſe amongſt the ancient *Arabians*: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their prayers may be better deſcribed, it will be to our purpoſe to hear what *Busbequius* relates of the whole *Turkiſh* Army, whom he had ſeen drawn up orderly in the field at their devotion. *I ſaw* (ſaid he) *in that plain, a great multitude of heads folded up in Turbants who with profound ſilence attended to the words of a Prieſt their conductor; all of them being drawn up in ranks and file, and covering with their extended orders the whole plain, ſeemed to have framed a wall or bulwark by the regular diſpoſition of their bodies: their cloathings were of light colours, and their Turbants comparable to the whiteneſs of the ſnow, and the variety of the different colours of their garments, fed the eyes with a ſtrange pleaſure: in this manner ſo immoveable, they ſtood as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor ſo much as any motion was perceived of their heads; every one at the name of* Mahomet *pronounced by the Prieſt, bowed his head to his knees; & at the name of God reverently proſtrated himſelf, & kiſſed the earth: and thus the* Turks *with devout ceremony and profound attention perform their holy duties; ſuppoſing that prayer to become fruitleſs, which is interrupted by ſcratching of the head, rubbing the hands, or any other geſture not eſſential to their prayer.* But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the moſt hypocritical; they are thoſe who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets to have praiſe of men; for it is obſervable with the *Turks* that where they find the moſt ſpectators, eſpecially of Chriſtians, to chuſe that place how inconvenient ſoever, to ſpread firſt their hand-

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kerchief

kerchief, and then begin their prayers. The ſubſtance of their prayers conſiſts for the moſt part in praiſes of the divine power & attributes; mixing therewith Petitions for the ſafety of their Prince and his dominions, and for diſſention and wars amongſt Chriſtians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoicing upon the rumours of wars and diſturbances in Chriſtendom, as an effect of the divine facility and conceſſion to their prayers: they know well by experi-

Lib. 12. Hiſt. ence, what *Tacit* reports of the *Roman* Policy; That, *Omne ſcelus externum cum lætitia habendum, ſemina etiam odiorum incende*; and as the *Romans* deſtined *Armœnia* to be a prize held up; and the Stage alſo, on which the Tragedy of the ruine of the Eaſtern Nations were to be acted, *Eandem Armeniam ſpecie largitionis, turbantes barbarorum animis præbuerint*; ſo the *Turks* forebore for ſeveral years the total Conqueſt of the Provinces of *Tranſilvania, Moldavia,* & *Valachia*, reſerving them for the *Cadmean* fields, wherein the *Hungarians, Germans, Polonians*, and the people of thoſe Countries themſelves might deſtroy one the other, and make his entrance to the poſſeſſion of them the more facile, and leſs bloudy.

Thirdly, Of their Ramazan.

The third neceſſary point of their Religion, is the obſervation of the Month of *Ramazan*, or a Faſt in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take any thing in their mouths, whilſt the Sun is above the *Horizon*; afterwards, upon ſhutting in of the Evening, that the *Emaum* lights the Lamps, which in that Month are expoſed round the Steeple of every *Moſch*, they have liberty to eat: moſt part of the night they ſpend in Feaſting, reſerving commonly their greateſt Delicacies and beſt Proviſions for the conſolation of that Faſt; their buſineſs and employments they attend moſt to in the night, paſſing the day as over tedious in ſleeping, ſo that their Faſt is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call ſacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradiſe are opened, and of Hell are ſhut: and ſo ſtrict is the impoſition of this Faſt, that it is no leſs than Death for a *Turk* to be accuſed of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine is eſteemed an inexpiable Crime; and ſuch who give themſelves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give ſcandal, abſtain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month; and Women and other of the more ſuperſtitious ſort, begin fifteen days their Faſt before it is enjoyned by the Precept of their Prophet. But ſuch as are ſick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permiſſion to eat; but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health, and convenience to make good thoſe days of the *Ramazan*, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

The Inſtitutions of this Month of *Ramazan*, proceeded from *Mahomet* himſelf, in the ſecond year of his Prophetick office, which he did not aſſume untill he had fully compleated forty years, having before in imitation of the Jews Faſt of *Aſhura Levit.* 16. *ver.* 29. in memory of the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the red-Sea, enjoyned to the *Arabians* the ſame time of abſtinence: but afterwards apprehending it diſhonourable to be beholdnig to the Jews for the invention of a faſt inſtituted

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inſtituted the *Ramazan*, the time of which is governed by the courſe of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days ſooner than in the preceding year, ſo that this Faſt with time comes to run through all the months, and is more eaſie to the *Turks* when it happens in the ſhort dayes of the Winter, rather than in the Summer, when the dayes are long and hot, which become tedious to the ordinary ſort of people, who for neceſſity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirſt dare not refreſh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, Of their Zacat

Which is another neceſſary point to the conſtitution of a *Mahometan* which is the beſtowing alms according to certain rules preſcribed by four principal Doctors of their Law: the word *Zacat* ſignifies as much as encreaſe, becauſe the alms procure the bleſſing of God & multiply the ſtore of the merciful. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Eſtate to relief of the poor; & though this Precept is enjoyned as an eſſential ingredient to conſtitute a true *Mahometan*, yet Covetouſneſs and Policy ſo much prevail with the *Turks*, that the Rich are both unwilling to part with ſo much of their Eſtate, and fearful to evidence their wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zacat*; ſo that the Poor are the beſt obſervers of this injunction, the Rich conceiving it ſuperfluous, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a ſnare to their Eſtates.

Fifthly, Of their Pilgrimage to Mecha

Which is enjoyned to every one who hath Riches and freedom from great Offices and charges of Government, to perform it; being a Type or ſignification of their paſſage out of this world into the next. The number of thoſe who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though moſt commonly are regiſtred from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, above fifty thouſand ſouls; theſe Pilgrims depart about the latter end of *May* from *Conſtantinople* and meet with thoſe from *Anatolia*, *Caramania*, and others of that quarter of the world at *Damaſcus*; thoſe from *Perſia* aſſemble at *Babylon*, thoſe of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Cario*, and all unite upon the Mount *Ararat*, where they obſerve divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice which they do by killing Sheep, and ſending part thereof as Preſents to their Friends, and diſtribution thereof amongſt the Poor, in remembrance that upon the ſame Mount *Abraham* deſigned to Sacrifice his Son *Iſaac*; they alſo here ſtrip themſelves of their Garments, and being covered only with a Blanket, go in proceſſion through the Mountain in ſignification that they muſt now leave all their ſins and affections of the world behind them.

The chief commander over the Pilgrims (for amongſt ſo conſiderable a number of people, there muſt be rule and government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sur-Emini* by whom he ſends 500 *Zechins*, an *Alchoran* Emboſſed with gold carryed on a *Camel* & as much black Cloth as ſerves for hangings for the *Moſchs* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly preſented from the *Sultan* to that place; when the

new hanging is ſet up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in pieces; ſome getting more and ſome leſs, carry any rag of it home, as a relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which ſerves them in place of the *Caabe* to which they turn their faces at the time of their prayers. The *Camel* which carryed the *Alchoran*, at his return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and ſervice.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Bairam *and Ceremonies uſed at that time by the chief Officers to the* Grand Signior.

THe *Bairam* is the feaſt of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the year; one immediatly following the Faſt of *Ramazan*, as our Eaſter doth the Lent, which is called the great *Bairam*; the other is the little *Bairam*, which happens about ſeventy dayes after the former; at which time the people for three days ceaſe from their labour, preſent one the other, rejoyce and take greater liberty than at other times; which no queſtion but was invented by *Mahomet*, for relaxation of the bodies & minds of his followers, as well as in imitation of the Chriſtian Feaſts.

The *Bairam* is then conceived to begin at the firſt appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is ſometime deferred a dayes time if the weather prove Cloudy, that the Moon is not viſible; if longer the Sky be obſcured, according to the courſe of nature, it is preſumed that the Moon is begun, & ſo their Feaſt begins alſo; which is publiſhed at *Conſtantinople* by the diſcharge of great Guns at the point of the *Seraglio* upon the Sea-ſhore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the Steeples of the *Moſchs* are extinguiſhed or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are ſounded in all publick places of the City, and Courts of great Perſons: ſo that every one betakes himſelf to Mirth and Paſtime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But that which will be moſt curious to the obſervation of the judicious Reader, is, the relation of the Ceremonies uſed in the *Seraglio* at this Feaſt by the ſeveral officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one and other; which are ſo formal, preciſe and conſtant to the leaſt motion of every Member of the body, as will clear the *Turks* from that opinion which paſſes of them in the world of being rude, uncivil and void of all Ceremony or Courtſhip in their comportment and behaviour, which according to the beſt information I could procure, is for the moſt part in this manner.

The Antiport leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agaſi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cuſhions & other Furniture after their faſhion, on the *Vigil* or *Eve* before the *Bairam*, all the prime officers of ſtate belonging to the empire then at *Conſtantinople*, aſſemble themſelves at the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as ſoon as day breaks, the

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Grand Signior mounted on horſe back, paſſes threw the midſt of them, and goes to the *Moſchs* of *Santa Sophia*, where having ſaid his Morning prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned he enters the *Haſoda* or oyal chamber; & ſetting himſelf in his Seat of State, having the chief Euuuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar Han* (which remain for hoſtages in the *Turkiſh* Court) upon ſigns made to them, are the firſt who preſent themſelves before him to wiſh him a happy Feſtival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three paces to meet, and they proſtrating themſelves, ſay, *Eiamiſcherif*, which is, may theſe days be happy, and ariſing kiſs his hand and ſo retire. The next who makes his addreſs, is the prime Viſier, who ſtanding on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, and other great officers, Complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching kiſſes his hand, and then ariſing takes the ſtation of the *Kapa Agáſi* or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the *Mufti*, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal heads of the Law, as the *Kadeleſcheres* or Lords chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Eſchref*, principal head or primate of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the *Mollahs*, Preachers called *Seighs* and others. Then the *Mufti*, bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kiſſes him on the left ſhoulder, and the Grand Signior ſteps one pace, forward to meet him, and ſo retires to his place; then all the others in their ſeveral orders take their turns to paſs this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the prime Viſier informs the Grand Signior; for ſome kiſs his hand, others the hem of his veſt, ſome his ſleeve, others his breaſt, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is ſo full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expreſly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The laſt of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Janizar Agáſi*, or the General of the *Janizaries*.

This part being thus far paſſed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired Chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the *Arz Agalar* or the four principal Pages are the firſt of the Court to do their obeyſance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where the Officers of State having complyed with their obligation, take a plentifull repaſt at the Grand Signiors charge, after which the Grand Signior makes a preſent to each of the ſixteen principal officers of Sable Veſts, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is way made for the Coaches of the *Soltanaes*, who having been Cloyſtered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feaſt of *Bairam* to have occaſion to make their Viſits to the Grand Signior in the firſt place, as being of his Kindred and Relations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Soltanaes* and Ladies, with whom they uſe variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the ſpace of three days in Banquetting and other divertiſements of Muſick and diſcourſe.

I may well be obſerved from the premiſes, how generally the world is miſtaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtſhip uſed amongſt

the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much ſhort of that quaintneſs, bowings, cringings & reverent poſtures uſed in Chriſtendom. It is true the *Turks* deportment even in the moſt vile and mechanick vulgar, though never ſo mean, is carryed with a ſtrange kind of barbarity and rudeneſs towards the beſt of Chriſtians in thoſe parts; which proceeds rather from a ſort of pride and deteſtation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being inſtructed in their duty of due reverence to their ſuperiours; for in their carriage one towards the other, they obſerve the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactneſs, as is exerciſed in *Rome*, or the moſt civilized Courts of Chriſtendom; and amongſt the chief Miniſters there is much preciſeneſs and caution uſed not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the ſuperiours, leſt they ſhould diſparage their own quality, or give occaſion to the world to believe their diſorderly ſubmiſſion to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the ſtudy of Chriſtian Miniſters employed in Embaſſies in the *Ottoman* Court, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in preſence of the chief Miniſters of State; for uncovering the head, as in Chriſtendom is amongſt them eſteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgements of the great diſtance there is between the Maſters they repreſent; and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a ſteddy and conſtant behaviour at the time of the treaty or diſcourſe, is the beſt rule for a Chriſtian Miniſter; which is interpreted amongſt *Turks* as the effect of gravity and eſtimation of themſelves; it being certain, that the contrary hath cauſed many Chriſtian Miniſters to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deſerved for their wiſdom and dexterity in the management of the more ſubſtantial points of affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the prohibition of Swines fleſh and Wine.

The five foregoing principles already treated of are (as we have ſaid before) the eſſential points required towards the conſtitution of a true *Mahometan*; other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience; amongſt which none is more enjoyned than the prohibition of Swines fleſh and Wine: which are called *Haram*, things abominable and forbidden. The firſt in reality abhorred by them, and as diſpleaſing as the fleſh of a man to civilized people, or a Dogs thigh to ſuch as have been uſed to delicacies and wholſome viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation, & though accurſed by them, is yet accounted of ſo ſtrong a temptation, that the ſin is the more excuſable; & though the *Alcoran* poſitively inhibits the uſe thereof, and the expoſitors of the Law have ſo far removed it from all poſſibility of becoming lawful, that they have determined that if Wine be ſpilt on the ground, and in that place graſs grows, & with that paſture a Sheep or an Ox is nouriſhed, thoſe Cattel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the fleſh of Swine.

But notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions hereof by their religion, Wine is ſo commonly uſed, that it is publickly drank without cautions or fear of giving ſcandal; the great men, becauſe in office, are more careful how the world diſcovers the delight they take in that Liquor, leſt the miſcarriages of their office ſhould be attributed to the exceſs of Wine; or the knowledge of their uſe of that which deprives them of their reaſon, render them uncapable of their truſt and dignity. For the *Turks* account it impoſſible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Correction of crude humours and indigeſtions of the ſtomack; and wonder to ſee it by *Engliſh*, *French* or *Italians* tempered with water; for unleſs they may drink it with full bowls, and have ſufficient thereof, to give them their *Kaif* (as they call it,) that is to tranſport them into a diſſolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenneſs, or to a ſurfeit or a vomit, they eſteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a deſire of demanding more.

But ſuch as would appear Religious amongſt them, and are ſuperſtitious, moroſe & haters of Chriſtians, abſtain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy temper, and cenſorious of the whole world. *Theſe men who drink only Water and Coffee, enter into diſcourſes of State matters, cenſure the actions & paſs Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Aſſumtâ Stoicorum arrogantiâ, Sectaq; quæ turbidos, & negotiorum appetentes faciat. Tac. lib.* 14. And this was the reaſon why the great Viſier *Kupriuli*, put down the Coffee-houſes in *Conſtantinople*, and yet priviledged the Taverns; becauſe the firſt were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflections were made on all occurrences of ſtate, and diſcontents publiſhed and aggravated; but Wine raiſed the ſpirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate thoſe effects to endanger his condition, as the Councels which were contrived in the Aſſemblies of thoſe who addicted themſelves to a more melancholy Liquor.

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The drinking Wine in young men is eſteemed amongſt the extravagancies of youth, but in old men is a crime more undecent and ſcandalous in a higher degree. But why *Mahomet* ſhould ſo ſeverely forbid the uſe of wine to his Diſciples is recounted in a fable on this occaſion; That their Prophet being once invited by a friend to an entertainment at his houſe, chanced in his way thither to be detained a while at a Nuptial Feaſt, where the Gueſts raiſed with the chearful Spirits of the wine, were Merry, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards other; which pleaſing humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effect of the wine, bleſſed it as a ſacred thing, and ſo departed. But it happening that in the Evening returning again, and expecting to ſee the love and careſſes he had before bleſſed to be augmented, he found the houſe to the contrary, full of brawls, and noiſe, fightings, and all confuſion; which he alſo having underſtood to be another effect of the Wine, changed his former bleſſing into a curſe, and for ever after made it *Haram*, or an abomination to his diſciples.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, Good Works, and ſome certain of their Laws worthy of obſervation.

Though according to the Preceeding diſcourſe, the character that may thence reſult from the nature and temperance of the *Turks*, doth not promiſe any long Treatiſe concerning their deep morality, vertues, and elevated graces: yet in the minds of all mankind though never ſo barbarous, God having wrote the Law of nature, and made that impreſſion of doing right to our neighbour, which tends towards conſervation of the world; we may well expect to find the ſame principles in the *Turks*; eſpecially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them converſation with other nations, and their wars and Treatiſe with Chriſtians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be ſtrange for us to find amongſt them men, whom Education hath made civil, poliſhed, in all points of vertuous deportment, & made *Heroes* of their Age; though I muſt confeſs I cannot applaud the generality of this people with ſo high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of ſome ingenious travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come ſhort of the good nature & vertues are to be found in moſt parts of Chriſtendom. Howſoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, & meritorious works, it will not be unworthy nor unpleaſant to conſider:

And in the firſt place, they eſteem it a good work to build houſes, though from thence they obtain a rent, becauſe it is a habitation for thoſe who have no lands or Eſtates, to have them of their own. But eſpecially ſuch as are Princes and great men, who build *Chans* or Innes, which are receptacles for travellers at night, are ranked in the firſt order of ſacred benefactors, and are bleſſed & prayed for by the weary Gueſts, who have found repoſe and refreſhment through their munificence: And in theſe buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent

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in moſt parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a ſtately *Moſchs*, Baths & Shops for Artiſans and Trades-men to ſupply all the neceſſities of the Travellers; and ſome of them are ſo endowed, that every night the Gueſts are entertained at free coſt with a convenient Supper, be their number more or leſs according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of theſe buildings is for the moſt part according to the model of the higheſt and ſtatelieſt of our Halls, covered with lead though not altogether ſo high-roofed; yet ſome I have obſerved for their breadth & length very Magnificent; yet by reaſon that they have been ſomewhat lower, have only in that come ſhort of the pride of the ſtatelieſt Fabricks: though in few of them are apartments for different companies, yet every one is ſufficiently retired, having at a convenient diſtance different Chimnies for all parties of Gueſts to dreſs their meat, and in the winter for their fire; the greateſt inconvenience to men of watchful ſpirits, & uſed to quiet retirements is the want of ſleep, which untill I have been over-tired with labour, and accuſtomed thereto by divers dayes journeyes, hath been alwayes a ſtranger to my eyes, by reaſon of the moleſtation of various companies, ſome of which are alwayes awake, ſome mending their Carts, others dreſſing meat, others upon their departure, that in thoſe publick places never want noiſe to diſturb thoſe who ſleep but of one ear: Theſe ſtately *Chans* or Innes, which with the *Moſchs* are the only durable & magnificent buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great men, who fearing to be deprived of their riches by a haſty death, ſhould they endeavour to continue them to their family, chuſe to perpetuate their names and ſecure their conditions by theſe publick works.

Thoſe who would appear of a compaſſionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a merciful action to buy bread and feed the Dogs, of which there is a great number of diſeaſed Curs in all ſtreets appropriate to no Maſter, but are mangy and foul, and no ſmall cauſes of breeding the Plague, ſo frequent in all the Cities of the *Turks*. And this care of Dogs is accounted ſo charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny bread to a poor Chriſtian who is famiſhed in his chains, than to the Dogs of their ſtreet, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection; and ſome bind themſelves by a vow to give ſuch a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of ſuch a Street, others bequeath it by teſtament; for they maintain their quarters from other wandring Curs, and joyn together in a ſtrange manner to preſerve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongſt them.

The *Camel* is another ſort of Beaſt to which the *Turks* bear not only a love, but a Religious reverence, accounting it a greater ſin to over-burthen and tire them with too much labour than the Horſe, becauſe it is the beaſt moſt common to the holy parts of *Arabia*, & carries the *Alchoran* in pilgrimage; ſo that I have obſerved thoſe who have the government of the *Camels*, when they have given water to them in a Baſon, to take of the foam or froth that comes from the mouth of the Beaſt, and with that, as if it were ſome rare Balſome, with a ſingular devotion to anoint their Beards, & thereat with a Religious ſigh groan out, *Hadgi Baba*, *Hadgi Baba*, which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim,

grim, Oh Father Pilgrim. And thus having run through the moſt obſervable points of the *Turkiſh Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Hoſt and *Militia*, being that by which their Empire is more ſupported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profeſſion in Religions.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK,

Wherein is Treated of the

Turkiſh Militia.

CHAP. I.

Of the preſent ſtate of the Military Diſcipline in General amongſt the Turks.

WHoever is acquainted with the ſtate of the Turkiſh Empire and hath duly conſidered the premiſes of this foregoing Treatiſe, will eaſily judge that the main ſinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdome conſiſts in the force of the *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholy founded upon Martial Diſcipline, and the Law of Arms, is moſt obliged to the conſtitutions, and ſupported on the Props related in this following Diſcourſe: for this people having neither entred into the Poſſeſſion of this Empire, as into an unhabited and deſart Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or diſcovered; nor got admittance precariouſly from the Grecian Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and commerce; but have opened their way to poſſeſſion and government by meer force and power of the ſword; whereby their Conſtitutions, Laws, Cuſtoms, and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike diſcipline of a Camp, and to the quickneſs and ready exeution of Martial law: And if it be true in Morality, as it is in nature, that things are conſerved by the ſame cauſe by which they are produced; it will neceſſarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by arms, and had *Mars* its only Father, will never be nouriſhed by ſoftneſs, and the arts and blandiſhments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as deſcribed in various Hiſtories, renowned for their Chivalry and Diſcipline in the times of *Sultan*, *Selim*, or *Solyman* the magnificent, and deſigns thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his preſent ſpeculation, will find himſelf much at a loſs in framing true conjectures of the puiſſance of the Turks, or the Rules of their Government, by compariſon of former times with this preſent age. For that ancient ſublimity and comely Majeſty in the Emperor is much abated; the forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power by ill ſucceſs and unskilful and ſlothful Seamen, reduced to an inconſiderable condition; the Countries are diſpeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing re-

mains of thoſe plenteous ſtores and proviſions of War; nor that Regiment and Diſcipline continued in peace, none of that antient obſervation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and reſpect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, ſoft, and effeminate; nor is the *Ottoman* Court ſo prone to remunerate the ſervices, and exalt intereſt of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the Janizaries. In breif there are no reliques of ancient juſtice, or generoſity of diſcreet Government, or Obedience to it, of Courtiſie or Concord of Valour or Councel, nor yet of Confidence, Friendſhip, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of theſe diſtempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet ſlothful, and deſirous to avoid the occaſions of War, as all Governments have been which in their youth and firſt beginnings were eager, active, and provoked through poverty, in their riper years grown rich, and luxurious with plenty, have declined afterwards as from the meridian of their greatneſs and power; yet the Turks maintain ſtill the extent of their Dominions, and if they have loſt ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Aſia* the *Perſians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Schirvan*, *Tibris*, *Lyris*, and *Ghenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions; if they are diſpoſſeſſed in *Ethiopia*, of *Aden*, and other parts of *Arabia Fælix*, they have recompenſed themſelves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candy*, and in *Hungary*, by the late conqueſt of *Newhauſel*, and *Novigrade*, and in *Tranſilvania*, by the additions of *Janova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire as vaſt and large as it is, is yet diſpeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole Provinces as pleaſant and fruitful as *Tempe* or *Theſſaly*, uncultivate and turned into a deſart, or wilderneſs: all which deſolation and ruin proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs*, and *Paſhaws*; who either in their journeys to the poſſeſſion of their Governments, or return from thence expoſe the poor inhabitants to the violence and enjury of their Attendants, as if they had entered the Confines of an enemy, or the Dominions of a conquered People.

In like manner the inſolence of the Horſe and foot is unſupportable, for in their marches from one Country to another, Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excurtions into divers parts of their own Dominions, where they not onely live upon free quarter, but extort mony and cloths from the poor Vaſſals, taking their Children to ſell for ſlaves, eſpecially the *Bulgarians*, and *Servians*, and the people of *Boſna* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the Turkiſh tongue are ſold for *Ruſsians*, *Hungarians*, or *Moſcovites*, ſo that rather than be expoſed to ſo much miſery, and liſence of the Souldiery, the poor people choſe to abandon their dwellings and wander into other Cities, or ſeek for refuge in the Mountains, or woods of the Country. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the ſame form, and the Souldiery diſpoſed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiouſneſs and negligence have ſo prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered, and eſtrainged from their firſt diſcipline: For the Commanders upon every light occaſion are contented to make Otoracks

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or Stipendiaries, ſuch as enjoy the pay and priviledges of a Souldier, and yet are excuſed from the Wars; which they eaſily purchaſe with a ſmall ſum of money, for a ſcratch, or a fleſh-wound gained in the Wars; wholly againſt the Original Inſtitution, which deſigned that benefit only for maimed and diſabled Souldiers; ſo that now there is ſo great a number of that Souldeiry luſty and healthful, under the title of dead-mens pay, as diſfurniſhes the Grand Signior's Treaſury and weakens his Forces.

The *Janizaries* alſo marrying freely, and yet diſpenſed with as to the abſence from their duty and Chambers, apply themſelves to Trades and other Studies beſides the War, by which means having Children and dependencies, they are forced by other Arts than their few Aſpers of daily pay, to ſeek the proviſion and maintenance of a Family; and their minds growing eſtranged from the War, are ſollicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children; and in my time, have ſo abhorred the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Preſents to be excuſed; and ſo general hath been the diſlike of all kind of Martial action for the reaſons before-mentioned, that at firſt the very rumours and diſcourſe of War, and afterwards the reality thereof, cauſed ſo general a diſcontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely ſuppreſſed, burſt into a Mutiny of the Militia; whoſe meer enquiry but into the reaſons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Sedition.

Another Corruption hath the covetouſneſs of the Officers produced for ſmall preſents and donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Regiſters of the Souldiery; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed perſons are defended by the military priviledges; and the ancient honour due to Arms is proſtituted for the maintenance and protection of the raſcalities and ſcum of the world.

And this ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken in general of the preſent ſtate of the Turkiſh Souldiery; we ſhall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the Turkiſh Militia, and from whence and how they are raiſed.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkiſh Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the firſt Book we made an eſtimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* of the Empire, by which might be collected the number of Souldiers which theſe great men are able out of their own Families to furniſh unto the Wars; it will be now time to make a juſt computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raiſed, the ſeveral military orders, and the true puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; which is indeed ſo incredibly

great and numerous, that with good reaſon they have formed it into a Proverb, *That no graſs grows there where the Turkiſh Horſe hath once ſet his foot.* This ſpeculation is abſolutely neceſſary to a true deſcription of the Regiment of a Country; for the Martial Conſtitutions are the beſt part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unleſs they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This Conſideration is alſo ſo neceſſary to the Art of a States-man that he ill ſtudies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmoſt Strength it contains by Land and Sea; and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledg of the prudent Arts wherewith a Nation or People is conſerved in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Conſtitutions appropriated to the time of War. Wherefore we ſhall diſcourſe as ſuccinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the ſame certainty that one of the principal Muſter-Maſters of the Turkiſh Rolls, long practiſed and accurate in his Office, hath decyphered, from whoſe Report it ſelf I profeſs to derive my Authority in this following Relation:

The whole Turkiſh Militia then is of two ſorts; one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms beſtowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their conſtant pay in ready mony. The great nerve or ſinew of the Turkiſh Empire is that of the * firſt rank, which are of two ſorts, *viz. Zaims*, which are like Barons in ſome Countries; and *Timariots*, who may be compared to the *Decumani* amongſt the Romans. Thoſe of the ſecond ſort, paid out of the Grand Signiors Treaſury, are *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, * *Armoures* * *Gunners*, and Sea-Souldiers called *Levens*, who have no pay for life, or are enrolled amongſt the military Orders; but only make an Agreement for five or ſix thouſand Aſpers for their voyage, which being ended, they are diſbanded.

* Called in Turkiſh *Mal-Mukatele.*

* *Gebegi.* * *Topzi.*

Of the Zaims *and* Timariots.

The nature of theſe two, and their Inſtitution is the ſame; the only difference is in their Commiſſions or patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For the Rent of a *Zaim* is from 20^{m} of Aſpers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Eſtate of a *Sangiackbeg*, called a *Paſhaw*, which is from 100000 Aſpers to 19^{m}999; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Revenue of a *Beglerbeg*.

The *Timariots* are of two ſorts; one call'd *Tezkerelw*, who have the Evidences for their Land from the Grand Signiors Court, whoſe Rent is from 5 or 6000 Aſpers, to 19^{m}999; for then with the addition of one Aſper they enter the number of *Zaims*: The other ſort is called *Tezkeretis*, who hath his Patent or Writing from the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, whoſe Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Aſpers.

The *Zaims* in all Expeditions of War are obliged to ſerve with their Tents, which are to be furniſhed with Kitchins, Stables, and other neceſſary Appartments, agreeable to their ſtate and Quality, And for every 5000 Aſpers of Rent received from the Grand Signior; they are to bring a Horſe-man into the Field, which is called *Gebeln*

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as for example, one of thirty thouſand Aſpers is to come attended with ſix, one of ninty thouſand with 18 Horſemen, and ſo proportionably: every *Zaim* is entitled *Kiilig* or ſword, ſo that when the Turks calculate the ſtrength or numbers that a *Beglerbeg* is able to bring into the field for the ſervice of his prince, they make a computation upon ſo many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themſelves, which they call ſo many ſwords, not numbering the people with which they come accompanied.

The *Timariots* are obliged to ſerve with leſſer Tents, and to be provided with 3 or 4 Baſkets for every man that attends them, for their Office is, beſides fighting, as alſo of the *Zaims*, and *Spahees*, to carry earth, and ſtones for making Batteries and Trenches, whileſt the *Janizaries* are in ſkirmiſh with the Enemy. And for every three thouſand Aſpers rent the *Timariots* are ſeſſed at a man and horſe, as the *Zaim* is for every five thouſand: And both one and the other of theſe Souldiers little differ from thoſe in *England* which hold their lands in *Capite*, or the ancient tenure of Knights ſervice.

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are diſpoſed into Regiments under command of colonels, called *Alai-Begler*, who march with Colours and the* Kettle Drum: theſe Colonels are again under the command of the *Paſhaw*, or *Sangiack-beg*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the * general who is either the Grand Signior in perſon, or the Viſier *Azem*, or ſome other eminent perſon qualified with the title of Viſier.

* In Turkiſh *Tabl. Alem.*

* In Turkiſh *Serasker.*

Theſe two Orders of Souldiery are not only appropriated to Land-ſervice, but ſome alſo are deſtined to the ſea, who are called *Deria Kaleminde*, and are under the command of the Captain *Paſhaw* or Admiral: but the *Zaims* are moſt commonly diſpenſed with as to the Sea-ſervice in their own perſons, upon the payment of ſo much mony as they are eſteemed at in the Signiors Books, out of which *Levends* are raiſed, and enrolled in the Regiſters of the *Arſenall*; but the *Timariots* can never be excuſed from their perſonal duty and ſervice with their attendance of ſouldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of theſe can be diſpenſed with from their perſonal ſervice at Land; no excuſe in time of the Grand Signiors wars is lawful or pleadable: if ſick, they are carried in Horſe-Litters or beds; if infants, in Hampers, or Baſkets, and in their very Cradles accuſtomed to the hardſhip, hazard, and diſcipline of war. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have ſpoken in explication of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *Spahees*, and compoſe the beſt part of the Turkiſh Armies; we ſhall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of theſe Horſe which fill up the vaſt Hoſt that hath overſpred ſo large a proportion of the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A Computation of the numbers of the Forces ariſing from the Zaims *and* Timariots.

IT were a work of too great labour conſidering the little ſatisfaction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in deſcribing the juſt numbers of thoſe which follow theſe *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be ſufficient to denote, that the ſmalleſt number of a *Zaim* is four men, and is the greateſt of a *Timariot*, whoſe loweſt condition is obliged to maintain a ſingle man, and the higheſt of a *Zaim* to ſerve with nineteen; ſo that whoſoever will ſurvey this Turkiſh Hoſt muſt make his Calculate a little more or leſs by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I conſider the fraud is uſed by the Accomptants, Regiſters, and Muſter-Maſters of the Grand Signiors Enrolments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and ſweetneſſe of making falſe Muſters as they are in the moſt ingenious places of Chriſtendom; and perhaps Policy may afford a connivance to this fraud, for the ſake of a ſuperlative face of their Armies; which they love to expreſs by this uſual ſimilitude, *Aſker reml deria miſal*, As innumerable as the ſands of the Sea ſhore: but in effect the noiſe is greater than the reality, and he that will ſum up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the account, which by the vaſt extent of Tents, confuſion of Baggage, train of ſervants, and attendants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular eſtimation. Beſides the Turkiſh Armie admits of great increaſe and decreaſe by the many Interlopers, as we may call them, which the *Zaims* for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of muſter, or appearance; ſo that one would admire to ſee, in ſo ſhort a time ſo apparent a decay in the Turkiſh camp: which abuſe, the great and famous Viſier *Mahomet Kiupruli* with cruelty and extraordinary ſeverity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conqueſt of *Janoua* in *Tranſilvania*; but it is impoſſible for one man to know, and ſee, and remedy all diſorders, and is amongſt the Turks called *Aain oin* a ſecret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be throughly diſcovered.

But that which makes the principall difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots*; ſome of which holding an eſtate onely for life, and others dying without heirs of their bodies their Lands revert to the Crown: Which Eſtates being improved by the induſtry of the poſſeſſors, above the primary valuation in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince, are beſtowed again on others according to their true eſtimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signiors Souldiery is increaſed; and it is a point very obſervable, that as other Princes loſe by the fall, and death of their ſubjects; the Grand Signior is the only gainer, for of the moſt that are ſlain in a day of Battel, the Eſtates accrue to him, in diſpoſal again of which he

he obſerves this Rule, to gratifie many with that which was before the proportion of a ſingle perſon.

But to come now to the expreſs and diſtinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timariots* in every part and Goverment of the Empire this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Regiſters of the Grand Signior.

In the Goverment of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows; in the

	Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Of	*Kiotahia*	39	948	So that computing at the loweſt rate 4 *Gebelues* to every *Zaim* with them and their followers, muſt make 1180
	Saruhan	41	674	
	Aidin	19	572	
	Kaſtamoni	24	570	
	Hudawendighiar	42	1005	
	Boli	14	551	
	Menteſche	52	381	Doubling the number of *Timariots* at the loweſt rate makes 14880
	Angura	10	257	
	Karahiſar	10	615	
	Teke ili	7	257	
	Kiangri	7	381	In all 16060
	Hamid	9	585	For maintenance of which Army, the Rents in the *Ottaman* Statutes are, Aſpers 37310760
	Sultan Vghi	7	390	
	Kareſi	7	242	
	Jenige hiſar	7	12	

Zaims is the perſon, and *Ziamets* the Land for maintenance of the *Zaim*.

80 Aſpers makes a Doller or a piece of 8.

Total of *Ziamets* are 295 and 7440 *Timariots*

There were farther in paſt times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for mending the ways, bringing proviſions, and ſervice of the Artillary; there was alſo an allowance for 1280 *Sutlers*, or Victualers of the Camp, and for 128 Trumpeters, and Drummers, which were *Gypſies*; but this was when *Anotalia* was a Frontier Country to the Chriſtians, and was therefore better fortified and accomodated; bnt ſince it is become one of the innermoſt parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the poſſeſſions of *Zaims* and *Timariots*, ſo that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots*.

In the Government of *Caramaina* are reckoned

Sangiacks 7.	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Iconium	18	512	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the loweſt rate are 292
Nighde	11	355	
Kaiſairi	12	144	
Jeniſcheher	13	244	Of *Timariots* at the ſame accompt 4900
Akscheher	6	122	
Kyrſcheher	4	430	
Akserai	9	358	Which makes in all 4892
Which make	73	2165	The Rent according to the *Ottoman* Statutes is, Aſpers 10500175

In

In the Government of *Diarbekir* are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks* beſides thoſe of *Kiurdiſtaw* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 men; but I finde only 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, *viz.*

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Amed	9	167	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at
Charpurt	70	163	the loweſt rate will make 424
Ezani	10	122	*Timariots Gebelues* at the ſame
Sipurek	0	1	rate will make 1080
Nesbin	1	5	
Chaſenghif	5	30	1504
Tehemeſcherek	2	7	
Kuleb	3	24	The Rent is not deſcribed of this
Sangiar	6	21	Country in the *Ottoman* Statutes.
Which make	106	540	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damaſcus*, called in Turkiſh *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiacks*,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Damaſcus	87	337	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the
Jeruſalem	9	161	former rate 512
Aglun	4	61	The *Gebelues* of *Timariots* 1746
Bahura	9	39	
Sifad	5	123	In all 2258
Gaza	7	108	
Nabolos	7	44	
Which make	128	873	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Liwas*

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Liwas	48	928	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the
Amaſia	19	249	former rate 432
Tchurum	16	310	The *Timariots* 6058
Buzadick	15	731	
Demurki	1	310	In all 6490
Gianik	7	348	
Arebkir	2	153	The Rent for maintenance
Which make	108	3029	hereof 13087327

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzrum* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Erzrum	56	2214		
Karahizar-ſcharki	32	904		
Kieſi	8	229	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate	488
Paſin	9	654	The *Timariots*	1096
Hanes Esber	3	435		
Tortum	10	491	in all	11584
Mamervam	4	96		
Melazkerd	0	272		
Tekman	1	253		
	122	5548		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Wan* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Wan	48	147		
Adilgewar	29	101		
Ergiſch	0	14	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make	740
Senureghiul	32	203	The *Timariots.*	1652
Tehobanlu	2	36		
Ghiokiche	36	160	In all	2392
Derekgher	27	79		
Ghiorluk	7	61		
Faniiazi	4	25		
	185	826		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Maraſch* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Maraſch	10	118	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make	108
Malatia	8	276	The *Timariots*	1024
Aſab	9	118		
	27	512		1132

The Rent for maintenance, Aſpers 9420317

In the Government of *Cyprus* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Itchili	16	60	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make	160
Alaine	0	115	The *Timariots*	2134
Cyprus	9	308		
Schis	2	156		
Tarſus	13	428		2294
	40	1067		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripoli* in *Syria* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timaritots*		*Zaims* at
Tripoli	12	87	The *Gebelues* of the	250
Hams	15	169	the former rate make	1140
Gebele	9	91	*Timariots*	
Selemie	4	52		1390
Hamaz	23	171		
	63	570		

In the Goverment of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rika* are.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Rika	30	143	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the	
Serug	9	291	former rate make	240
Biregek	15	109	Of the *Timariots*	1332
Ane	6	123		1572
	60	666		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabezond* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the Firſt Book; yet within the Juriſdiction of the City it ſelf are 56 *Ziamets*, and 398 *Timariots*; So as the computation of that place is of 920 men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aleppo* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Aleppo	73	295	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the	
Adana	11	191	former rate make	468
Kelis	17	295	Of the *Timariots*	2088
Azir	2	91		2556
Balis	7	86		
Mearre	7	86		
	117	1044		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tehilder* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Olti	3	123		
Erdehamburek	9	86		
Hagreek	2	23		
Hartus	13	39	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the	
Ardnug	4	149	former rate make	424
Puſenhaf	11	18	Of *Timariots*	1318
Penbek	8	54		1742
Tarchir	2	7		
Luri	9	10		

Vſtuch

Vſtucha	1	7
Achankiulk	11	37
Achtala	6	6
Aſin	4	14
Penbeck	14	89
Pertekrek	9	0
	106	659

In the Government of the Captain *Paſhaw*, or Lord Admiral, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Negropont.	12	188
Mytilene.	4	83
Kogia ile.	25	187
Siſla.	32	235
Karliili.	11	119
Galipoli.	14	32
Rhodes.	5	71
Betgai.	5	146
Mezeſtra.	16	91
	124	1152

The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former proportion make 500
Of *Timariots* 2304
2804
For maintenance of which the Rent ſet down in the *Ottoman* Statutes is Aſpers 10800000

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Sophia	337	1788
Kioſtendill	48	1017
Morea	100	242
Alexandria of Epyrus	19	205
Tirhala	26	525
Siliſtra	75	432
Nigheboli	60	344
Vchri	60	342
Aulona	68	489
Jania	62	345
Ilbaſan	18	138
Tchirmen	20	130
Salonica	36	262
Wize	20	79
Delunia	24	165
Vskiup	20	344
Kerkleſa	1	18
Dukakin	10	53
Widin	17	225
Alagehizar	27	509
Serzerin	17	225
Waltcarin	10	317
	1075	8194

The *Zaims* with their *Gebelues* at the former proportion make 4300
The *Timariots* 16388
This the loweſt rate 20688

But the ordinary computation of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in this place with their *Gebelues*, is of about 30200 fighting men, or thereabouts; to which is added the Souldiers of the *Beglerbeg*, *Sangiacbegs*, and other Officers, which commonly amount to 2500. The Militia maintained with the Lands of the Country may be computed at 32700, or 33000 men.

Beſides this Militia in *Romania*, there is another ſort called *Jureghian* or *Jurukler*, who have their Eſtates in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is alſo another ſort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called * *Ogiacks*, of which there are about 4000 Houſes: Of the ſame kinde in the Province of *Kizilgè* are 200 Houſes: in *Tchirmen* 351 of *Cingani*, which are the ſame as amongſt us the Race of the *Gypſies*; in *Wize* 170: So that the whole ſum of *Ogiacks* may arrive to the number of 4721, or at moſt to 5000. Theſe are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty perſons five, called *Eſchkingi* or voluntiers, who are to joyn themſelves with the *Tartars* for making Excurſions into *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, or other parts; and ſo yearly they interchangeably take their courſe. The other 25 remaining are called *Jamak*, and are not obliged perſonally to ſerve when the Grand Signiors Wars call them to employment; but then for every 5000 Aſpers Rent they poſſeſs of the Grand Signiors Lands, they are ſeſſed at one man, who are aſſigned to ſerve out of thoſe whoſe turn it was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The principal Office of theſe is to attend the Artillery, Baggage, and Proviſions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for paſſage of the Army. To the like Service are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians*, for carriage of Hay, and cutting Graſs, according to the Seaſon of the Year.

* Signifies a Chimney

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Beglerbegs* of *Buda*, *Temſwar*, and *Boſna*, I find not particularly deſcribed in *Ottoman* Books; but however according to the beſt information, that Militia on the Confines of the empire called *Serhadly*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men, paid out of the Rents of the *Sangiacks* of that Country. But though the Militia of *Buda* be not ſet down in the Regiſters of more ancient date at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe it is as it were a principality independent both for its eminency, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions; yet in that City it ſelf is ſtrict order obſerved, and the Rolls of their force moſt exactly known and computed; to which the Turks have a ſtrict eye, it being a frontier Garriſon of much importance, and the Key of *Hungary*; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of note, during my reſidence in that place, was according to this preciſe account: Of

Janizaries	12000	called *Cuchuc Cappe*	500
Spahees	1500	*Topgees*, or *Gunners*	500
Zaims and *Timariots*	2200	*Martoloes*, a ſort of Foot-Souldiers	300
Azaps, which are the meaneſt ſort of Souldiery,	1800	Souldiers belonging to the powder-houſe	280
Belonging to the Caſtle of *Badu*	1200	The Souldiery who are Servants to the *Paſhaw*	3000
Jebeges, or *Armourers*	1900		
The Guard at the Gate			

In all 22180; to which adding the Militia of *Boſna*, and other parts of *Sclavonia*, and all along the Frontier Countries, which extends for

for above 800 Engliſh miles, the number may amount to no leſs than 70000 fighting men. But we here diſcourſe only of the number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole ſum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436; which makes in all 83380; but this is calculated at the loweſt rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, beſides other Militia's of *Cairo*, or other orders of Souldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

Theſe Partitions or Diviſions were firſt made by *Solyman* the Magnificent, as the beſt Rule and Method for an orderly diſpoſition of his Militia, and as the ſtrongeſt nerve of the *Ottoman* Force: but as with time in the moſt exact compoſitions of Diſcipline, corruptions through covetouſneſs and ambition of officers are introduc'd; ſo alſo in the juſt diſpoſal of theſe rents according to the ancient inſtitutions: for the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, *Treaſurers*, and other officers, inſtead of beſtowing this maintenance to the Souldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reſerve it to prefer and gratifie their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services; ſome that live at *Conſtantinople*, or near the Sea, to defray the charges of all Boats and Veſſels which carry their houſhold Proviſions; others that live in the inland Countries agreeing with the Treaſurer of the Souldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other conſideration, ſet to ſale theſe Rents to them who profer moſt; ſo that in time of Harveſt the *Paſhaw* ſends abroad his officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppreſſion and violence as cauſes diſturbances, differences, and Lawſuits amongſt them, which being to be decided by judges partly intereſsed in the Quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their ſide who have moſt power and moſt money.

The aforegoing account of *Zaims* and *Timariots* is the moſt reaſonable one can be given: And becauſe we have reckoned them at the loweſt rate, making ſome allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thouſand men, which, as I have heard, is the utmoſt number of this ſort of Souldiery.

CHAP. IV.

Of certain Cuſtoms and Laws obſerved amongſt the Ziamets *and* Timariots.

AMongſt theſe Forces of *Ziamets* and *Timariots* are in time of War and Action mixed certain Volentiers or Adventurers, called by the Turks *Gionullu*, who maintain themſelves upon their own expence in hopes by ſome ſignal Actions of Valour to obtain the ſucceſſion into a *Zaims* or *Timariots* Lands, as places are made void by the ſlaughter of the War. Theſe men are often very hardy and ready to attempt the moſt deſperate Exploits, moved by a deſire of the reward, and by the perſwaſion, that at worſt dying in a war againſt Chriſtians, they become Martyrs for the Mahomite Faith. It is reported,

ported, that in one day, upon the aſſaults given *Sorinſwar*, or the new Fort of Count *Serini*, one *Timariots* Farm was beſtowed eight times; one being ſlain it was conferred on another, and ſo on a third and ſo on the reſt; all which had the misfortune to fall, untill it reſted on the eighth, the others dying with the title only of *Timariots*.

The *Zaims* or *Timariots* being aged, or impotent, have in their life time power to reſign up the right of their eſtates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawful for a Peaſant or Clown to mount his Horſe, or girt his Sword like a *Spahee*, untill firſt he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of ſome *Paſhaw*, or perſon of Quality; unleſs it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident Teſtimonies of his Courage, he may then become Competitor for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Cuſtom of *Romania*, that a *Zaim*, or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaims* rents are divided into as many *Timariot* Farms as he hath Sons; but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 Aſpers Rent, it deſcends entirely to his eldeſt Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongſt the reſt of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the lands fall to the diſpoſal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceaſed, on any of his Servants, or ſell them at the beſt advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whoſe Eſtates are hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to ſerve in perſon in the war, but only to ſend their *Gebeleus*, or number of Servants according to the value of their Eſtates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, the years Rent is confiſcated to the Exchequer; and this Eſtate deſcends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female line.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Militia in Gran Cairo, *and* Egypt.

THE Guard and protection of the Kingdom of *Egypt* is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, ſome of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamalukes*, confirm'd by *Sultan Selin* upon the taking of *Cairo*; theſe have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerful, and ready upon every diſcontent to riſe in rebellion; every one of theſe maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for war, and exerciſed in Arms, which ſerve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Court; with which they go attended in journeys, in their huntings, and publick appearances; under the command of theſe twelve Captains are twenty thouſand Horſe, payd at the charge of the Country, whoſe Office is by turns to convey yearly the Pilgrims to *Mecha*, and the annual tribute of 600000 *Zechins* to the *Ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requiſite to ſend it either by Land or Sea; theſe are the ſtanding Militia of the Country, out of which, unleſs upon the fore-

going

going occaſions, they are not obliged to other ſervice; their principal duty being, to prevent the invaſion of the *African* montaneers, who often make incurſions from their barren Rocks, into the fat and fruitful Soils of *Egypt*. Beſides this Militia, are computed eighty thouſand *Timariots*, out of which they yearly tranſport about 2500 or 3000 men to the wars of *Candy*; but to more remote Countries, or the late wars of *Hungary*, I did not hear that this Souldiery hath uſually been called.

These twelve *Beghs* of *Egypt* are noble by bloud, enjoying an hereditary Eſtate deſcending from the Father to the Son; which richneſs joyned with the command of a powerful Army, hath rendered them ſo formidable and inſolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to impriſon and depoſe the *Paſhaw* from his Office, and ſpoil him of all the riches he hath collected in his three years government: by which means, are always great jealouſies, and enmities between the *Paſhaw* and theſe *Beghs*; diſſenſions and rebellions to that high degree, that many times it hath been little different from an abſolute Revolt. *Ibrahim Paſhaw* was in the year 1664 impriſoned by them, and obtained his liberty for *600 purſes of mony; after whoſe departure the brother of the ſaid *Ibrahim*, upon ſome certain pretences on the *Paſhaw's* ſcore, falling into their hands, was impriſoned alſo, but ſhortly after obtained his releaſement by the Grand * Signiors maſter of Horſe, who was ſent expreſly to compoſe the diſorders of *Egypt*; which were now proceeded to that decree, as without ſome ſatisfactory atonement could not be termed otherwiſe than a total defection; and therefore they reſigned up one called *Sulfi car Bei* to juſtice, who *being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in preſence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the Turk hath always on occaſions of theſe diſturbances and inſolences, diſſembled and connived at the diſorders, perceiving the diſtemper of that Kingdom to be ſuch, as can with much difficulty be redreſſed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cauſe ſo violent a commotio n of humours, as would abſolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

About 100000 Dollars at Cairo.

**Called Embra hore.*

**In the month of Feb. 1664.*

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks,

Are the *Tartars*, *Valachians*, *Moldavians*, and *Tranſilvanians*, under the command of their reſpective Princes. Who are obliged to ſerve in perſon whenſoever called by the Sultans command. The *Tartars*, I mean of *Crim*, are to furniſh a hundred thouſand men with the *Tartarhan*, or Prince in perſon to lead them, when the Grand Signior himſelf appears in the field; but if the Army is commanded by the Viſier only, then the Son of the *Tartarhan* is to ſerve; or having no iſſue, the Army to the number of 40 or 50 thouſand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Miniſter. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranſilvania* are never excuſed from perſonal attendance in the Camp, each of which reſpectively are to be attended with ſix or ſeven thouſand men a piece. And though the Prince of *Tranſilvania* called *Apaſi*, was in the laſt War againſt the Emperor not called out of the Confines of his own Country; it was with deſign

that

that he ſhould keep that Station free from the irruption of the Enemy not that he was diſobliged from his perſonal attendance on the Viſiers Camp.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahees.

A Spahee.

HItherto we have treated of the Turkiſh Horſe that are maintained by Farms, and Rents of Lands: now it will be neceſſary to diſcourſe of thoſe that receive their conſtant pay from the Grand Signiors Treaſury; and theſe are called *Spahees*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the *Ottoman* Empire, becauſe they are commonly better educated, courteous and refined, than the other ſort of Turks, and are in number 12000. Of theſe there are two Orders, one called *Silahtari*, who carry yellow Colours, and the other *Spahaoglari* or the Servants of the Spahees, and have their Colours red; theſe Servants have now obtained the precedency above their Maſters; for though the *Silahtari* are very ancient, and deduce their inſtitution from *Alè* their firſt Founder, who was one of the four Companions of *Mahomet*; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the third, on a day of

Battel

Battel in *Hungary*, ſeeing the *Silahteri* routed, and put to flight, with violent paſſion and earneſtneſs endeavoured to ſtop their courſe; and perceiving the Servants of theſe *Spahees* to remain ſtill in a body, incited them to revenge the ſhamefull cowardiſe of their Maſters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sultan*, clapping up a red Flag, gave ſo bold an onſet on the Enemy, and with that ſucceſs as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which ſervice and notable exploit, the *Sultan* as diſpoſer of all Honours and Orders, gave ever after the preheminence to theſe Servants before their Maſters; ſince which time this new inſtitution of *Spahaoglary* hath alwaies been continued.

Theſe light-Horſe-men are armed with their Scimitar and Lance, called by them *Mizrak*, and ſome carry in their hands a *Gerit*, which is a weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the ſame with the *Pila* amongſt the Romans, which by long exerciſe and cuſtom they throw with a ſtrange dexterity and violence, and ſometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horſe, without any ſtop recover it again from the ground: they alſo wear a ſtraight Sword named *Caddarè*, with a broad blade fixed to the ſide of their Saddle, which, or the Scimitar, they make uſe of when they arrive to handy-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Piſtols, and Carbines; but eſteem not much of fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the field they make more noiſe than execution: ſome of them wear jacks of Mail and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onſet with *Allah, Allah*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat. Their Arms.

The *Aſian Spahees* are better mounted than commonly thoſe of *Europe*, though theſe being Borderers on the Confines of the Chriſtians having learned much of their Diſcipline by conſtant skirmiſhes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more valiant and experienced Souldiers. But the *Aſiatick Spahees* were formerly the more rich, many particular men of them bringing into the field, thirty or forty men apiece, beſides their Led-Horſes, Tents and other accommodations proportionable to their retinue; but theſe Cavaliers ſeemed too great and proud to the Vizier *Kupriuli*, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which raged at that time amongſt all the Grandees of the Empire; which cauſed him to ſtrike off their heads with as little remorſe, as one would do the tops of Poppies, untill he had abſolutely made a deſtruction of them. Thoſe now which remain are poor and inconſiderable, contented to comrade 10 or 12 in a Company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and 2 or 3 Horſes and a Mule for Baggage and Proviſions; theſe are more tame, and ſubject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the ſoles of the feet, which is their puniſhment, as the *Janizaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks; (that ſo this chaſtiſement may neither incommode the ſeat of the Horſemen, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and Capital, they are ſent for by *Chiauſes*, Comparison of the *Spahees* of *Aſia* and *Europe*.

or Pursuivants to appear before the Vizier, by whom being condemned, and strangled neer the Walls of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, their bodies are afterwards about two or three hours in the night thrown into the Sea, without other solemnity than the firing of one of those great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, which serve for so many warning pieces for others Example.

Their pay.

Their pay is diverse, but in general, it is from twelve to a hundred Aspers a day: those who proceed from the *Seraglioes* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Pashaw* and *Adrianople*, which are so many Nurseries and Schools as well of the principles of War, as literature; or have been Cooks Mates (for the Cook of these Societies is a principal Officer of respect) or *Baltagees*, that is, Hatchet-men, who cut wood for the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, and are licensed to live abroad with the title of *Spahee*, have the lowest pay of twelve Aspers a day; but those who are extracted from the less, or greater Chamber of the Grand Signiors own *Seraglio*, called *Seni serai*, have 19 Aspers pay, and if they are favoured with the title of an Office, they receive two or three Aspers augmentation. But such as are elected to the War out of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant Office, the Dispensatory, the * Treasury, the * Falconers Lodge and others, (which we have mentioned in the Description of the *Seraglio*) have, at first thirty Aspers daily pay: an * encrease of which is obtained sometimes by the Viziers, or Registers favour unto two Aspers more; sometimes by services in the War, by receiving two Aspers augmentation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two Aspers more for * intelligence of the death of any *Spahee*, out of the pay of the deceased; as also at the Incoronation, or Instalement of every Grand Signior, five Aspers increase is given as a donative general to the whole Army of *Spahees*: and thus many of them by art, industry, and good success go augmenting untill they arrive to a hundred Aspers, and here is their *non plus ultra*, they can rise no higher. They are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they may omit to receive for 9 months, but if twelve pass, they can only demand the nine, the other quarter, or more is confiscated to the publick Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the Vizier, which formerly was in the houses of the Pay-Masters, and Treasurer, but changed by the Vizier *Kupriuli*, on occasion of the disorders and abuses of the Officers which caused mutinies, and disturbances amongst the Souldiery. For the rich *Spahees* living far distant, to excuse themselves from a long journey to the City, agreed with the Pay-Masters that they for some certain part of their income, should without farther trouble to themselves, take up their dues, and make it over quarterly to their Countries of abode; these men thus tasting the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for some little gains to dispatch them before the rest; by which means and the payment only on Wednesdays, and Saturdays, those *Spahees* that came from remote parts, making so long attendance, had with their excesses in *Constantinople* spent as much as the principal sum they expected; of which growing sensible, at first they began to murmur, then to threaten the Pay-Masters, and at last it proceeded to open mutiny, by forcing the doors, breaking the windows of the Officers, with ma-

*Killer Odasi. Hazna Odasi. Dogangi Odasi.

* Called *Taraki*.

* This is done that the Grand Signior may not be cheated by having the pay continued to those who are dead.

ny other inſolencies and diſorders, untill *Kupriuli*, to remedy theſe abuſes, ordered the mony to be given out in his preſence, and the payment to be continued every day untill the pay was ended.

Sons of *Spahees*.

The Sons of *Spahees*, preſenting themſelves before the Vizier, may claim the priviledge of being enrolled in the Grand Signiors Books; but their pay, which is the loweſt rate twelve Aſpers a day, is to iſſue forth from their Fathers proportion, but then they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their ſervices and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own induſtry. Beſides the foregoing ways by which the *Spahees* gain their encreaſe of pay, I am given to underſtand that formerly they had another benefit, called *Gulamiie* or ſafe conduct mony; which was one *per cent.* of all moneys to thoſe whom the Collectors of the Grand Signiors Revenue ſummoned to convey the Treaſure for more ſecurity to the Capital City, beſides the maintenance of themſelves and Horſes in the journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue was with time taken off, to the great diſcontent of the *Spahees* in general.

Accidentall gains to the *Spahees*.

The Grand Signior going in perſon to the wars, according to the ancient Cuſtome of other Sultans beſtows a largeſs on the *Spahees*, of five thouſand Aſpers a man, which they call *Sadack Akchiaſi*, or a donative for buying Bows and Arrows; as alſo to the *Janizaries*, as we ſhall hereafter mention.

Their Diſcipline

This Army of *Spahees* is in the War a meer confuſed multitude without any Government, or diſtribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their preſence or abſence from the Camp; only at the pay in the month of* *November* whoſoever appears not, unleſs favoured by the Officers, hath his name raced from the Grand Signiors Regiſter.

*Called in Turkiſh *Kaſſem Vlefeſi*.

Their duty in the War is to ſtand Centinel with a *Janizary* at the end of every cord at the Grand Signiors Pavilion, as alſo at the Viziers, armed with his Cemitar, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horſe-back; as the *Janizary* on foot with his Sword and Musket and alſo the charge of the Treaſure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the field to their cuſtody.

How they have loſt their honour.

This Order of Souldiers was in ancient times in great eſteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reaſon of their accompliſhment in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial Court, their nearneſs to preferments, and acquaintance and intereſt with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *Selihtari* in their marches to the Warre, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spahi Oglani* on the right, and were alwayes the ultimate reſerve of the Battel, as the Life-guard to the Sultan: But like men not knowing how to comport themſelves in proſperity, growing mutinous and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the *Janizaries* in conſpiracy againſt the life of their true Sovereign *Sultan Oſman*; to which Treaſon adding other Inſolencies, they juſtly were deprived of the favour of Sultan *Morat*, and Sultan *Ibrahim*; the terrours alſo of their late ſedition remaining freſhly ſtill impreſſed in the memory of this preſent Emperor Sultan *Mahomet*, when they complotted againſt his own and his Mothers life, is the cauſe

they have ſtill gone declining from the degree of their priſtine honour and eſteem; for the Prince as he is the Fountain of Honour, ſo is his countenance and favour the ſpirit and life which gives a luſtre and ſparkling to thoſe Titles and Riches he hath conferred; other Seditions haſtned the ruine of their reputation, and in the year 1657, when the Vizier *Mahomet Kupruili*, on occaſion of his Expedition againſt *Janova*, ſummoned the *Aſian Spahees* to the Rendezvous in *Hungary*; who inſtead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain a *Spahee* of their own rank, called *Haſſan Aga*, preferred to be *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*: whoſe name at that time, I remember upon the hopes of the diſſentions he might create amongſt the Turks, was greatly famed and celebrated over all Chriſtendom. Theſe Combuſtions in *Aſia* headed by the chief Enemy to the Vizier, cauſed *Kupruili* to leave many of his deſigns againſt *Tranſilvania* uneffected, and to clap up a Peace on reaſonable and moderate terms of honour, that ſo he might hinder the progreſs of a dangerous evill which now threatned and approached the Capital City; for by this time *Haſſan Paſhaw* being arrived near the walls of *Scutara*, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and repreſent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majeſty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Miniſters and the miſcarriages of Government; his tender years as yet not having ripened his judgement to penetrate theſe evils, which with time his underſtanding would diſcover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppreſſions and aggrievances of the Souldiery he ſeemed to object to the cruelty and oppreſſion of *Kupruili*, and in appearance had nothing but thoughts of the honour and ſafety of the Grand Signiors perſon; and doubtleſs this man was unfit to manage ſuch a deſign, for he entertained ſcruples of Conſcience, and a remorſe and tenderneſs in ſpilling Mahometan blood, conſiderations which are incompatible with the condition of a Rebel; for who hath the impiety to draw his Sword againſt his Prince, muſt ſtop at no bars either of divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to *Kupruili* to effect his deſign upon his Enemy; for in the interim of this Treaty, *Mortaza Paſhaw* of *Babylon*, was commanded to poſſeſs the City of *Aleppo*, and *Haſſan* after many fair meſſages and promiſes from the Grand Signior and the Vizier, was perſwaded to return again to *Aleppo*, to capitulate with *Mortaza* concerning thoſe points and aggrievances he ſought to have redreſſed; it being alledged to him, that *Mortaza* had received inſtructions to treat, and a plenipotentiary power to grant and firm as far as ſhould be reaſonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condeſcend. *Haſſan* with this eaſie anſwer returned toward *Aleppo*; neer which place he credulouſly committed himſelf into the hands of *Mortaza*, who no ſooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all Controverſies and Capitulations by the deciſion of his head from his body: The whole Army of *Spahees* immediately, with the fall of their General, was ſcattered, and divided themſelves; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by *Mortaza*, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where in the preſence of the Grand Signior within the walls of the *Seraglio* at *Scutari* they were all executed; ſince which their pride hath ever

gone

gone declining, and their name become ſo odious amongſt the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spahee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with ſtones, or other weapons that came next to hand; ſo that now the *Spahees* are much eclipſed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are beſides theſe two foregoing ſorts of *Spahees*, other four, the firſt called *Sag Vlefigi*, that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *Spahaoglani*, and carry white and red Colours. The ſecond is *Sol Vlefigi*, whoſe places is on the left hand of the *Selahtari*; which carry white and yellow Colours. The third *Sagurcba*, that is Souldiers of Fortune that are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Vlefigi*, and carry green Colours. The fourth is *Sol Gureba*, whoſe place is to march on the left hand of the *Vlefigi*, and carry white Banners: but theſe four ſorts of *Spahees* are raiſed and liſted according to neceſſity and occaſions of War, and are obliged to all ſervices and duties; their pay is from 12 Aſpers to 20 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the ſuperior Orders. There is alſo another ſort of more elivated *Spahees* called *Mutafaraca*, who iſſue out from the *Seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary ſort of *Spahees*, and are 400 or 500 in number, their pay is 40 Aſpers a day, and have alwaies the obligation or duty on them to ſerve and attend the Grand Signior when he goes in progreſs for pleaſure from Village to another.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared in brief concerning the inſtitution and diſcipline of the *Spahees*, as alſo of all the Militia of the Turkiſh Horſe; we ſhall now proceed to declare ſomething of their Infantry.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Janizaries.

A Janizary.

THE next main ſinew of the *Ottoman* Power is the order of *Janizaries*, which is as much as to ſay, the new Militia; and yet their Antiquity may be deduced from *Ottoman* the firſt King of the Turks; but becauſe they received honours and priviledges from *Amurath* their third King, our Turkiſh Hiſtory accounts that to be the time of the firſt original: it is certain that in his time they were modelized, and certain Laws perſcribed both for their education and maintenance; when by the counſell of *Catradin*, otherwiſe called *Kara Ruſthenes*, *Amurath's* prime Vizier, it was ordained that for the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive taken from the Chriſtians, above the age of 15 years, ſhould be the dues of the *Sultan* who at firſt were to be diſtributed amongſt the Turkiſh Husbandmen in *Aſia*, to learn and be inſtructed in the Turkiſh Language and Religion.

Their beginning.

Their number at firſt was not accounted above 6 or 7000, now with time they are encreaſed to the number of twenty thouſand effective men; but were there a liſt taken of all thoſe who aſſume this title of

Their number.

Jani-

Janizary, & enjoy their priviledges though not their pay, there would be found above a hundred thouſand; ſix or ſeven go under the name of one *Janizarie*, for gaining by this means a priviledge of being free from all Duties and Taxes, they beſtow a certain ſumme of mony or annual preſents on the Officers, in conſideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Pi- Their Habit.
cture repreſents, wearing alwaies the beard of their Chin and under lip ſhaven, which ſome ſay they learned from the *Italians*; but certain it is, that this Cuſtom is more ancient, than ſince the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy*: this manner of their ſhaving being generaly uſed as a token of their ſubjection, and ſo all the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great men, orders of Gardeners, *Baltagees* or Hatchet-men and others, are diſtinguiſhed by this mark to be in ſervice and obliged to the attendance of a Maſter: But when they are either licenſed from the war, or promoted to Office, or freed to their own diſpoſal, they immediatly ſuffer their Beards to grow as a ſigne of their liberty and gravity.

In former times this Militia conſiſted onely of the Sons of Chriſtians, The *Janizaries* of whom compoſed.
educated in the Mahomitan Rights; but of late that politick Cuſtom hath been diſuſed, the reaſon of which ſome attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* having of their own to ſupply all their occaſions: but I am rather induced to another opinion, having not obſerved the multitude which Hiſtories and Travellers tell us, that the Turks ſwarm with; and rather aſſigne the neglect of this practice, ſo prejudicial to Chriſtian Intereſt in theſe parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and careleſneſs in their Diſcipline.

And though this election of *Janizaries* out of the eldeſt and luſti- The Novices
eſt Sons of Chriſtians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Aſia* was exempted) is now diſuſed; yet ſuch as enter into this order, whoſoever they are (unleſs the neceſſity of the preſent ſtate of the war be over-urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Tyrones Romani*, before they can be enrolled in the Regiſter of *Janizaries*, and are called *Agimoglans*. The chief Officers of theſe is called *Stambol Agaſi*, in whoſe care and charge it is to enure theſe men to all labours, pains, and mortifications, as to cut wood, carry burdens, endure heats, colds, and other ſufferings which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant and patient of all the inconveniences and miſeries of war.

The quarters many of theſe have in the Garden-Lodges of the Their Quarters.
Grand Signiors *Seraglio's* (whereof they are many in and about *Conſtantinople*) to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Huſbandry, and practiſe (as occaſion requires) meaner Offices of labour and ſervitude: others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio's* (we have before mentioned in the Chapter of *Spahees*) *viz.* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Paſhaw*, and *Adrianople*, where their principal art is the myſtery of Plantation and delitious diſpoſal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though there are many of this profeſſion who have no other thoughts to employ their minds, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite husbandry, or know more than the ſeaſon to plant their Hartichoaks or Colworts; as to the rules and ſymmetry of ſetting trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleaſing Walks, Fountains and Groves; it is ſtrange

a people

a people that delight ſo much in Flowers, in Fields, and Arbors, and have themſelves or Anceſtors ruined many of the delightful Paradiſes of Chriſtians, ſhould be ſo wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongſt all the Grand Signiors Gardens in *Conſtantinople* may deſerve a better name than of a Wilderneſs.

Others of theſe *Agiamoglans* are made *Baltagees* or Hachet-men to cut wood for the *Seraglio*; others are made Cooks and Officers in the Kitchin, ſuch, I mean, as can already ſpeak the Turkiſh Language, for thoſe that are ignorant in that ſpeech or in the *Mahomitane* Religion, are diſpoſed into remoter parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Poſſeſſions and Authority; as to *Ciotahia*, where the *Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries* hath Revenue; to *Karahizar* and *Angura*, where the *Stambol Agaſi* hath principal power; to *Menteſche*, *Sultan Vghi*, and *Karoſi* where the *Turnagibatch* and *Jaiabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are emploied in plowing and ſowing the Ground, or other laborious exerciſes, until ſuch time as ſupplies for the Wars give them occaſion to draw out theſe men from their ſeveral Stations: and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their ſeniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the Muſter-Maſter, who having enrolled their names in the Grand Signiors Regiſter, they run as faſt as they can by their *Odabaſche* or Maſter of their Chamber, who gives every one as he paſſes a blow under the Ear, to ſignifie their ſubjection to him: and this is the Ceremony obſerved in creating *Janizaries*.

* Called *Kiahaia-Begh*.

The manner in making *Janizaries*.

Their pay.

At their firſt Enrolment ſome have but one Aſper a day, others 4 and 5 unto 7 and a half; and ſo with time and favour of their Officers, encreaſe to 12 Aſpers a day, which is the higheſt pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unleſs good Fortune promote them to the decree of *Kiahaia Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet and Clothing.

Beſides this pay, they have their dayly proviſion and diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at conſtant hours, where they find their Rice, fifty drams of fleſh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their reſpective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colledges; they receive alſo one Souldiers Coat yearly, of Cloath made at *Salonica* of a coarſe thred, but warm and convenient, which in every month of *Ramazan* is diſtributed to each Chamber; ſo that their Bellies are full and Backs are warm, and all points are better provided than the tattered Infantry which are to be ſeen in moſt parts of Chriſtendome.

And thus this people being pampered without cares of ſeeking their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the fire of Sedition with every ſpark of diſcontent in their Officers; the beginings of which they commonly make known at their Aſſemblies of the publick *Divan*, whither 4 or 500 of them are obliged 4 times a week, that is Saturday Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday, to accompany the *Janizar Agar* or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signiors Kitchin: which when they have any ſubject of diſ-

content

content they evidence by ſlighting, by kicking down their plates of Rice, and ſhewing better ſtomacks to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Miniſters having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promiſes and ſatisfactory compliance with their deſires to pacifie in their firſt motion. Mutinies.

Janyzar Agasi or Generall of the Janizaries

The General of this Militia is called *Janizar Agaſi*, and is always elected from the * Royal Chamber of the Seraglio; becauſe it being an Office of great charge, it is thought neceſſary to be intruſted to one whoſe Education and Preferment hath made a Creature of the Court; which policy hath been the ſuppreſſion of divers mutinies amongſt the *Janizaries*, the diſcovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a ſtronger dependency on the favour of the Seraglio. When this General either dies by a natural death, or the ſword of the Grand Signiors Juſtice or Authority, his Riches, like that of other *Paſhaws*, is not confiſcated to the Sultans Exchequer; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries*; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they poſſeſs in ſome parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Ottoman* Princes have by ſad effects rather felt, than able by vertue of their abſolute Power to remedy. * *Hazoda* The *Janizar Aga* The publick Treaſurer of the *Janizaries*.

Officers. The ſecond Chief Officer is the *Kiahaia Begh*, Lieutenant-General.

The third is *Seghban baſchi*, the Overſeer of the Carriage of the Souldiers Baggage.

The fourth is the *Turnagi Baſhee*, or Guardian of the Grand Signiors Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samſongi Baſhee*, chief Maſter of the Grand Signiors Maſtives.

The ſixth is the *Zagargi Baſhee*, Maſter of the Spaniels.

The ſeventh is the *Solack Baſhee*, Captain of the Archers, or of ſuch *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The Eighth is *Subaſhi* and *Aſſasbaſhi*, who are chief of the Serjeants and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signiors Stirrop when at any time on ſolemn occaſions he ſhews himſelf to the people. 194

A Solack or one of the Grand Signors Footmen

A Paick or another ſort of Footmen

The ninth is the *Peikbaſhi*, or Commander of that ſort of Pages which are called *Peiks*, who wear caps of beaten gold, of which there are 60 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *Solacks* neer the perſon of the Grand Signior.

The tenth is *Mezurga*, or the head Baily of the *Janizaries*.

Theſe eight laſt ariſe from the order of *Janizaries*, and have their ſeveral Commands in the Army, though the Grand Signior, to augment their Power and Honour the more, beſtows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The

The *Janizaries* Chambers (of which there are no others but in *Conſtantinople*) are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation, and are called *Eſkai Odalar*: and 82 called *Jeni Odalar*, or the new Chambers; over moſt of which is a *Torbagi* or Captain: In theſe Chambers thoſe that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation, and twice a day find their Repaſt, as we have before mentioned: And thus inſtead of Monaſteries of Friers, the Turk maintains Convents and Societies of Souldiers, who are trained up with all modeſty and Severity of Diſcipline. The *Janizaries* Chambers

The principal Officers of theſe Chambers are;

First, the *Odabaſhee*, or Maſter of the Chamber, who in the Wars ſerves as Lievtenant of the Company. Officers of the Chambers.

Second is *Wekilharg*, or expenditor for maintenance of the Chamber.

Third is *Bairacktar*, or Enſign-bearer.

Fourth is *Aſhgee*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karakulluk gee*, or the under-Cook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the water-carrier.

The Cook is not only an Officer to dreſs the Diet and proviſion of the *Janizaries*, but is alſo a Monitor or obſerver of their good behaviour; ſo that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the puniſhment. The under-Cook alſo ſerves for an Apparitor, and is he who ſummons the married *Janizaries* at their ſeveral Dwellings in *Conſtantinople*, when their Officers command their attendance.

The greateſt part of the *Janizaries* conſiſts of Batchelours or ſingle men; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which terminates their Preferments, and renders their Seniority uncapable of claiming a right to Offices, or Military Advancement; for being incumbred with a Wife, and other dependencies, they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Diſcipline of the War, or Service of the Grand Signior; and therefore as to other duty in the times of Peace, beſides their appearance every *Friday* in their Chambers, and preſence of their Officers, they wholly are diſpenſed with. *Janizaries* married.

In the Wars this Militia is conſider'd as the moſt valiant and beſt diſciplin'd Souldiery of the Turkiſh Camp, and therefore are either kept as a Reſerve, or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in imployment, from one Caſtle or Garriſon to another, as to *Buda*, *Kaniſia*, *Temeſwar*, to *Rhodes*, *Canea*, and other parts: ſome of them are appointed to keep Courts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the Inſolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Chriſtians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at ſometimes, being heated with Wine, have in the open market forc'd Women whilſt their Comerades have with their * Daggers drawn ſtood over them to defend them from the people; to prevent which diſorders, the *Janizar Agaſi* accuſtoms to ride the Streets attended with about 40 *Muſtigies*, or Bailiffs of the *Janizaries*, where meeting any guilty of ſuch like Crimes, or other Enormities, he ſeizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault, *Called Haniarres.

he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be ſtrangled, or ſowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their puniſhment is inflicted privately, perhaps becauſe they are jealous of a mutiny.

Serdars. In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serdars*, who are Colonels or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Jurisdiction, who greatly abuſe their Office by taking into their protection any that preſent or pay them for this priviledge; by which means they have grown ſo powerful and rich, that ſome time paſt the Command of the whole *Ottoman* Empire hath repoſed in the hands of this Militia.

Their Arms are Musquets and Swords; they fight confuſedly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spahees*; only ſometimes they draw themſelves up into *Cunei*, obſerved amongſt the *Romans*.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken of the Inſtitution and Diſcipline of the *Janizaries*: We ſhall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flouriſhing eſtate.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the Maintenance of an Army of Janizaries *according to the Original Inſtitution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Politie amongſt the* Turks.

Epiſt. 3. de Legatne Turcicâ. THis Problem I find firſt moved by *Busbequius*, once the Germane Emperors Embaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, who pretends to ſpeak the Grand Signiors ſence in this particular, on occaſions of difference which the inſolent rudeneſs of the *Janizaries* had caus'd between themſelves and his Family: For *Ruſan Paſhaw* then Prime Vizier, admoniſhed him friendly to condeſcend to any terms of Compoſition, for that Law could not avail where Souldiers ruled; and the powerful *Solyman* himſelf, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehenſion of ſome ſecret Ulcer of perfidiousneſs, which might lye concealed within the retirement of the *Janizaries*.

But as there is no queſtion but a ſtanding Army of veterane and well-diſciplin'd Souldiers muſt be always uſeful and advantageous to the Intereſt of a Prince; ſo, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remiſneſs of Government, produces that licentiouſneſs and wreſtineſs in the Souldiery, as betrays them to all the diſorders which are dangerous, and of evill conſequence to the welfare of a State.

And ſo it hath fared with the *Ottoman* Empire, which riſing only by the power of Arms, and eſtabliſhed on the blood of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Priviledges, Honours, and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their Proweſs and forwardneſs by Rewards, and connivance at their Crimes; by which indulgence and impunity, theſe men ill-principled in rules of Virtue, and unequally bearing proſperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time been gathering a ſtock of ill humours ready to receive any contagion

tagion of ſeditious deſign, and to maintain it with an impudence conſtant to the *Janizaries* for ſome ages, which may equal the levity of the Roman Souldiery, untill they ſhameleſly ſet their Empire to ſale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperors.

The death and ruine of many Grandees, and of the Sultan himſelf, by ſuch like Seditions, hath at length by dear experience taught the Principal Miniſters how unſafe it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the capital City, of a diſpoſition favourable to it ſelf, envious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court, rich and powerful with poſſeſſions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treaſury of unknown ſums which have deſcended to the Common Bank by the deceaſe of their Generals or *Janizar Agas*; and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminiſh the ſtrength of this Militia by the deſtruction of the veterane Souldiers, and ruine of their reputation, by various arts, in the eſtimation of the World.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been ſtudiouſly deſtroy'd, are by many ways evident; for firſt they are expoſed upon every obſcure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Aſſault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhauſted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vaſt numbers, who were formerly reſerved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which deſtruction of the veterane Souldiers hath created other miſchiefs to this order, in point of diſcipline, as prejudicial as the former; for as the *Agiamoglans* were obliged to perform ſix or ſeven years Novitiate, now, by reaſon of the conſtant neceſſities to ſupply the wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the firſt Inſtitution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year, or half a years ſervice. And others I have known educated in Mechanick profeſſions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burdens in the Arſenal, have at once for the ſervice in *Candy* been created *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwiſe diſciplin'd to any exerciſe of Arms.

Thirdly, that *Europe* may not be diſpeopled by the triennial ſeiſure of Chriſtian children of the Grand Signiors ſervice, which in Turkiſh is called *Deuſchirme*, that politick Cuſtom and principal conſervation of the diſcipline of *Janizaries* is, as we have ſaid before, wholly forgotten, and inſtead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themſelves out of *Aſia*, or other parts, who having paſſed five or ſix months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*, and being ignorant in the uſe of Arms, and unaccuſtomed to labours and ſufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times paſt one of the moſt honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which had by degrees and ſteps proceeded to Honour methodically from inferior Souldiers, have either by their own ſeditious ſpirits, or jealouſie of the Prince, been diſpeeded from this world, and in their places the Sons of *Conſtantinopolitan Janizaries* ſucceeded, who have been bred up with ſoftneſs and effeminacy; and their *Tchorbagees* or captains have not

obtained

obtained their commands by time or valour, but by their places with mony and preſents to the prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty courages, the confinement to their Chambers is not ſevere, but liberty given upon colour of poverty and impoſſibility of livelihood on their mean pay, to attend other Trades and ſervices, whereby the exerciſe of Arms and thoughs of the War is converted to mechanick Arts, and an intention to ways of maintenance of themſelves and Families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of puniſhment, which are the incitements to worthy actions and reſtrictions from the vileſt crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in theſe times for their encouragement or terrour; for without money to the ſuperior Officers none of them obtains preferment; nor can any worn out with age and wounds procure diſmiſſion from the War with the enjoyment of the uſual ſtipend, who are called by the Turks *Oturak*, and by the Latines *Exauctorati*; and on the contrary the children of Officers born in *Conſtantinople* are often made *Oturaks* in their Cradles, and luſty youths are with favour and mony exempted in the flower of their age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toilſome Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at theſe various diſorders and ſubverſion of the good inſtitutions of this ſouldiery were not ſufficient to impoveriſh their ſpirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper, and cauſe them to loſe their intereſt and reputation; it is the common opinion that the *Viſier Kupriuli* laid the deſigns for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoyned it to his Son to proſecute, with an intention, amongſt other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final deſtruction of the ancient *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, ſo as to be able to lay a foundation of new Diſcipline, which may more eaſily for the future reſtrain the Turkiſh Militia within the compaſs of better modeſty and obedience: which deſign hath taken ſo ſevere effect in the war of *Hungary*, in the year 1664. that the bloudieſt part of ſlaughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahees*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by ſo much more fatal and haſty was their ruine; ſo that it is reported that the valianteſt Souldiers of the Confines, the veterane and beſt diſciplined of the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, and the beſt number of their ſkilful Commanders and expert Captains periſhed promiſcuouſly together, to the great damage and weakning of the *Ottoman* power; ſo that now it is not probable that a new Militia ſucceeding, capable of receiving other Cuſtoms and Laws, and neither remembring nor concerned in former Mutinies will adventure to follow the ſeditious practices of their Predeceſſors; for men are commonly modeſt at their firſt entrance into any condition, and unleſs debauched by corruption and government, are eaſily contained within the bounds of reaſonable moderation. And yet notwithſtanding that the pride of the Turkiſh Militia is reduced to ſo low an abatement of their power, and to a condition eaſily for the future with good management to be ruled; yet this preſent *Sultan Mahomet* ſtill retaining the memory and impreſſion of the amazement

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he ſuffered in his infancy on occaſion of a dangerous combination and conſpiracy of the *Janizaries*, will never confide himſelf to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Conſtantinople*, in conſideration of the many Chambers it contains of that loathed Militia, which have been ſo many Nurſeries and Seminaries of Treaſons complotted againſt himſelf, and his other Progenitors.

The Chaousbashee or Cheiſe the Pursuivants

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiauſes.

THeſe having both offenſive and defenſive Arms aſſigned them, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Proceſſes and Laws, they may rather deſerve the name of Purſuivants or Serjeants. They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aſpers a day; and their chief Officer is called *Chiaus Baſchee*, to whoſe cuſtody Priſoners

ſoners of quality are committed : their place of attendance in the Palace of the Prime Viſier, to be ready on all occaſions to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire ; ſuch Chriſtian Renegadoes as become Turks, they moſt commonly for their encouragement and ſubſiſtance in the Mahometane Superſtition admit into this Rank ; becauſe having commonly an endowment of other languages beſides the Turkiſh, are moſt ſerviceable on meſſages into Forreign Countreys; and ſometimes are ſent with title of ambaſſadors, as one was once into *England*, *France*, and *Holland*. Their Arms are a Scimitar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Trunchion with a knob at the end, called in Turkiſh *Topous*; thoſe of theſe Officers that are ſervants to the Viſier or *Beglerbegs*, carry this Trunchion covered with Silver, called in Turkiſh *Tcheughian*; but the *Chianſes* of ſimple *Paſhaws* only of Wood: their Harveſt they make upon the occaſions of Law-ſuits and differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty perſon to juſtice, or if the buſineſs comes to compoſition, they commonly are in the midſt to perſwade both ſides to reaſon, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both parties.

CHAP. X.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh Militia, the Toptchi.

THeſe are Gunners, called ſo from the word *Tope*, which in Turkiſh ſignifies a Cannon; and are in number about one thouſand two hundred diſtributed into 52 Chambers, their quarters are at *Tophana* or the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* ; few of theſe are expert in their art, and are ill practiſed in the proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners myſtery; for were they as skilful as many Engineers in the world, they might doubtleſs with that train of vaſt Artillery they either march with in their camp or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Chriſtians forces: And therefore knowing their own imperfections in this exerciſe ; when Chriſtian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better uſage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that profeſſion, allotting them with the others a pay of 8 to 12. Aſpers a day; but becauſe this is too conſiderable a maintenance to allure men who are otherwiſe principled, moſt of them as occaſion offers, deſert the ſervice of the Turk, and fly to their own Country.

Their Officers are,

1. The *Topgibaſchi*, or General of the ordinance.
2. The *Dukigibaſchi*, or the chief of them that found the great Guns.
3. The *Odabaſchi*, the chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*.
4. Is the *Kiatib* or their Muſter-Maſter, who is always a *Spahee*.

Their Guns are the biggeſt and as well caſt and moulded as any in the

the world; for the laſt Expedition in *Hungary* there were 40 pieces of new Cannon caſt and tranſported by way of the black Sea, and thence by the *Danube* unto *Balgrade* and *Buda*. Their Gunpowder is made but in ſmall quantities about *Conſtantinople*, but comes from divers places of *Europe*, but that from *Damaſcus* is moſt eſteemed. The biggeſt ſize of their Bullets are from 36. to 40 inches Diameter, but theſe are moſt commonly of ſtone, which they make uſe of in the Caſtles or Block-houſes ſcituate on the Sea, as at the Caſtles upon the *Helleſpont*, called anciently *Seſtos* and *Abidos*, and at the Forts at entrance of the black Sea. Once an Engliſhman Gunner of a ſhip, which lay at *Conſtantinople*, had the curioſity and confidence to meaſure the dimenſions of theſe Bullets; but being apprehended in the very act was impriſoned for a ſpy; but by the interceſſion of our embaſſador then Reſident, with much labour and ſome expence was at length releaſed.

of the Gebegees.

Theſe are Armourers; ſo called from the word *Gebees*, which ſignifies in Turkiſh as much as Arms of Back and Breaſt; they are in number 630 diſtributed into 60 Chambers, and have their quarters neer the Church of *Santa Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*; their Office is to conſerve the Arms of ancient times from ruſt, by cleaning and oyling of them, ſo as to remain as trophees for ever of the Turkiſh Conqueſts: their pay is from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; their Officers are firſt the *Gebegibaſchi* who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odobaſhees*, who are ſo many Maſters of their Chambers. On all expeditions theſe Armourers are neceſſary Officers, and oftentimes in days of Battel diſtribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have the care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*: but thoſe of theſe men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with eaſe at their own homes; and like other * *Ogiacks* are capable of being made *Oturaks*, or retaining their penſion with a diſpenſation from the War.

* *Ogiack* ſignifies a Family, as alſo a military Family; ſo *Spahi Ogiaghi*, the Order of the *Spahies*; *Seniſcheri Ogiaghi*, the Militia of *Janizaries*, &c.

Of the Delees.

Delee, or one of the Viziers Guard

Delee ſignifies as much as a mad fellow or a Hector; theſe are the Prime Viſiers Lifeguard, and are in number from 100 to 400, more or leſs, according as the Viſier is more or leſs rich and ſplended in his retinue; their pay is from 12 to 15 Aſpers a day; they are by nation of *Boſna* or *Albania*; their habit is very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men choſen for their great ſtature and ſtomachs; they ſpeak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventerous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not eſteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Viſier on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; on journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibaſchi*; their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* faſhion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and ſome of them carry a Piſtol at their Girdle. This ſort of people being naturally more faithful than the Turks, and more enclinable to the Viſier *Kupriuli*, for being of the ſame Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard; which was ſo great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conſpiracy againſt him. The ſame

courſe

courſe his Son the preſent Viſier, follows, and is doubtleſs next the Grand Signiors favour, his principal ſecurity.

Of the Segbans *and* Sarigias.

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* maintain always a Militia called *Segbans*, to whoſe cuſtody the charge of the baggage belonging to the Horſe is committed; and a ſelect number called *Sarigias*, to whoſe care the baggage of the Infantry is entruſted; theſe ſerve on foot with Muſquets like *Janizaries*, and the others on Horſe back like Dragoons in Chriſtendom; their pay beſides their meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a month. The *Beglerbegs* have oftentimes on occaſions of their Rebellions enrolled many of this ſort of Militia to encounter the *Janizaries*; the which was practiſed in theſe late times by *Ipchir Paſhaw*, *Haſan Paſhaw*, and *Murteza Paſhaw*, who having liſted great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Viſier *Kupriuli* for terrour and more eaſie deſtruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Aſia*, that ſtrict inquiſition ſhould be made after the *Segbans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawfull for any one to kill and deſtroy them without mercy; by which means many were butchered in ſeveral places, and 30000 of them revolted to the *Soſi* of *Perſia*.

The Muhlagi *and* Beſli,

Are the ſervants of *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; the firſt make profeſſion of a principal art in good Horſemanſhip, and exerciſe themſelves in throwing the *Gilid*, which is a Dart much uſed amongſt the Turks, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and becauſe there are conſiderable rewards beſtowed on thoſe who are expert herein, the Turks practiſe it on Horſe-back as their only exerciſe and ſtudy: very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be ſpectators of the Combats between the ſervants of ſeveral *Paſhaws* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of preferment, contend with that heat and malice one againſt the other as ſurpaſs the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not only limbs or eyes are loſt in this skirmiſh, but oftentimes ſacrifice their blood and life for the paſtime of their Prince. Such as are obſerved to be bold, active, and dexterous at this Game, are preferred to the degee and benefit of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*. The *Beſlees* are footmen, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the ſeveral Degrees, Numbers, Inſtitutions, Laws, and Diſcipline of the Turkiſh Militia by Land: whoſe farther progreſs into Chriſtendom, and damage to the Chriſtian Cauſe may the Almighty Providence ſo diſappoint, that his Church, corrected and grown more pious by this chaſtiſement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and yoke of this great oppreſſor.

CHAP. XI.

Certain Obſervations on the Turkiſh Camp: and the Succeſs of the laſt Battel againſt the Chriſtians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665. the Earl of *Winchelſea*, our Lord Embaſſador for certain Affairs of His Majeſty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the Great Viſier in his return from the Wars in *Hungary*; through ill or rather uncertain information of the Viſiers motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *Belgrade* in *Servia* on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Conſtantinople*, where finding a good part of the Turkiſh Army encamped neer that City, for better convenience and expedition of my buſineſs, I entred within the Quarters of the *Spahees*, and pitched my Tent as neer the Viſiers and the other principal officers as conſiſted with due reſpect; in which place I remained ſeven days, untill the army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully compleated my buſineſs there, I marched and remained other 13 days together with the Army: in which time I had leiſure to make ſome reflections on the Order of the Turkiſh Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quarter'd the *Janizaries*, and all others deſtin'd to Foot-ſervice, whoſe Tents encompaſs their *Aga* or General: In the body of the Camp are erected the ſtately Pavilions of the Viſier, of his *Kahija*, or chief Steward, or Councellor, the *Reis effendi* or Lord Chancellor, the *Teſterdar Paſcha* or Lord Treaſurer, and the *Kapiſſer Kahiaſee* or Maſter of the Ceremonies; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a ſpacious Field in the midſt, in the centre of which is raiſed a lofty Canopy, under which Offendors are corrected or executed, and ſerves to ſhelter from the Sun or Rain ſuch as attend the *Divan*, or other buſineſs with the Officers of State. Within the ſame ſpace of ground alſo is the *Haſna* or Treaſury, in ſmall Cheſts one piled on the other, in form of a circle, for guard of which 15 *Spahees* every night keep a watch with their Arms in their hands. Neer theſe Quarters are the Tents of *Paſhaws*, *Beghs*, *Agaes*, and Perſons of Quality, who with their Retinue ſolely make up a conſiderable part of the Turkiſh Army. In the Reer are the Quarters of the *Spahees*, and others that attend the Horſe-ſervice, as *Segbans*, *Sarigias*, and others. On the right hand of the Viſier without the Camp, are placed the Artillery and Ammunition, which in the time I was there was inconſiderable, the great Canon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of *Belgrade*, only 40 or 45 ſmall Field-pieces of Braſs (as I reckoned them) each drawn by four Horſes, marched with the Viſier, more at that time for State and Oſtentation than for real Service.

The Pavilions of the Great Viſier, and other Perſons of principal Office and Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houſes, accommodated with Stately Furniture, with all the conveniences of the City and Country, and in my opinion far exceed the magnificence

magnificence of the beſt of their Buildings; for being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expence of Marble and Porphery, or the perpetual Edifices of *Italy*, durable to many *Olympiads* and *Myriads* of years. With theſe Houſes and movable Habitations, which with the Poſts that ſupport them are of great weight and bulk, the Turkiſh Army marches daily four five, and ſometimes ſix hours Journey; all which baggage is carried on Horſes, Mules, and Camels: The great Perſons are furniſhed with two ſets of Tents, one of which as the Viſier riſes, is advanced the *Conack* or days Journey beyond; ſo that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furniſhed and provided at arival; which is the reaſon why the Turkiſh Camp abounds with ſuch multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horſes of Burden, with ſo many thouſand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vaſt expence, and if duly conſidered, is a matter of the greateſt ſtate and magnificence in the Turkiſh Empire.

Though it is reported by thoſe who are Souldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the Turks in Fight, that their Victories are obtained by multitudes of Men, rather than by art, or military Diſcipline; however the Conqueſts they have made on the parts of *Chriſtendom*, is a demonſtration undeniable of ſome ſupereminent Order in their Army, which recompenſes the defect of knowledg in the true Myſtery of War; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the ſtrict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two men being executed during the time of my Reſidence there for bringing a ſmall quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become ſober, diligent, watchfull and obedient. In the Turkiſh Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuſes are committed on the people in the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Gueſts at an Inn; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin-daughters, no violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants; all which good order tends to the ſucceſs of their Armies, and enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the ſloth of the *Germans* and other Nations in their Councels againſt the *Turk*, the liberty given to the Chriſtian Souldiery, or rather the difficulty to correct it, proceeds from nothing more than intemperance of Wine, which moves in the Souldiery a luſt and promptitude to all evils, and is occaſion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels among themſelves, and diſobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruine by ſurpriſal: for how can thoſe men be watchfull, whoſe heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and not yield opportunity of ſad advantages to ſo awakened an Enemy as the Turk? *Busbequius* who had been Embaſſador from the Emperour to the Grand Signior in two ſeveral Embaſſies, and had known and ſeen the vigilance of the Turkiſh Camp, attributes much of their ſucceſs againſt the *Germans* to the ancient vice of Intemperance of his Country: *Neque verò*, ſaith he, *graviore imperio Turcæ Græcos premant, quàm nobis dominantur vitia, luxus, crapula.* And ſo ſenſible are the Turks of the abuſes and diſorders which ariſe in their Camp by the uſe of Wine, that they endeavour all that is poſſible to debar their people from

from it, and therefore 2 or 3 days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are diſpatched before to ſeal all Taverns and make proclamation againſt the ſail of Wine: for though it be againſt their Law to drink Wine, yet drunkenneſs is now become ſo common a vice amongſt them (as we have already declared in the ſecond Book) that ſcarce one in ten but is addicted to a brutiſh intemperance therein.

The Camp is always clean and free from ordure and filth; there being holes digged nere every Tent, which are encompaſſed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens neceſſary occaſions; and whenſoever theſe places become noiſome and full, they are covered with earth, and the Canvas removed; ſo that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as alſo kept more free from other ſtench (which may cauſe putrefaction,) than the moſt orderly Cities of the world. If the march be in the ſummer-time and the weather hot, the beaſts of burden and baggage begin to travel about ſeven a clock in the evening, and the *Paſhaws* and great Viſier preſently after midnight; who are accompanied with ſo many lights as equal almoſt the brightneſs of the day. Thoſe that carry theſe lights are *Arabians* from the parts of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, men uſed to travel on foot, who in Turkiſh are called *Maſſalageeler*, over whom is a ſuperintendant or chief called *Maſſalagibaſhee*, whoſe Office it is to govern and to puniſh theſe people, and is liable to anſwer for their diſorders: the lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily ſort of wood, which they burn in an Iron grate carried on a ſtaff made in the forme of our Beakons; and of the ſame faſhion with thoſe lights we ſee drawn in ancient Hangings, and Pictures which repreſent night pieces of Roman Stories.

And ſince I have diſcourſed ſomething of the Turkiſh Camp in this their return homewards, it will not be much from my promiſe to acquaint the Reader with what cheerfulneſs and alacrity the Army marched this way after their ill ſucceſs; and alſo to declare the occaſion that put a hook into the noſtrils of this great oppreſſor, and diverted him for the preſent from the farther ſpoil of Chriſtendome. Afer the taking of the Caſtle called *Serinſwar* by the great Viſier, built by Count *Serini* (the which was the firſt Original and occaſion of the war) and the defeat of the *Paſhaw* of *Buda* neer *Lewa* by Count *Suſa* Governor of *Gomorra*; the Viſier made many and various attempts to paſs the River *Raab*, to make ſome conqueſts in the parts of *Croati* and *Styria*, but by reaſon of the forts the Chriſtians had made along the banks of the River, in every adventure loſt conſiderable numbers of men; at which loſs of men and time, and the ill ſucceſs neer *Lewa*, the Viſier being greatly moved; made another adventure on the twenty ſeventh of *July* 1664. advancing with the groſs of his Army as far as *Kerment*, a place between the Rivers *Raab* and *Terne*, endeavouring there to make his paſſage with better ſucceſs; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the aſſiſtance of the General *Montecuculi* were repulſed with extraordinary ſlaughter.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* following the Turk made another conſiderable attempt, and paſſed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albanians*, and in another where the River was foordable, and not above

ten

ten paces broad, the whole body of the Turkiſh Horſe crouded over in vaſt numbers, which cauſed the Chriſtians to joyn their Forces into one Army, and retreat farther into the Country, and put themſelves into a poſture of giving Battel to the Enemy.

As ſoon as the Turkiſh Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell ſo much rain, and ſuch a Deluge came powring down from the mountains, that the River which was foordable the day before, did now overſwell its own banks, and not paſſable without Floats and Bridges. As ſoon as the Army was thus paſſed the River, the great Viſier diſpatched immediately Meſſengers to the Grand Signior to acquaint him of his progreſs and paſſage; which news he knew would come very gratefull; becauſe in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and poſitive commands to proceed forward in his march, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* force, which was never before reſtrained by the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Raab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of Victory, that all *Hungary* and *Germany* were already ſwallowed in his thoughts; and when by a ſecond Meſſage he received intelligence, that a forlorn hope of the Enemy, conſiſting of a thouſand men, was cut off, the *Ottoman* Court was ſo tranſported with the joy and aſſurance of victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded that a ſolemn Feſtival ſhould be celebrated for the ſpace of 7 days and 7 nights, called by the Turks *Dunalma*; in which time the whole nights were ſpent in fire-works, ſhooting great Guns, Vollies of Muskets, ſound of Drums and Trumpets, revelling, and what other ſolemnities might teſtifie their joy and triumph. But ſcarce three nights of this vain dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence contrary to what was preſaged and expected, of the defeat of the beſt part of his Army, ſhamefully commanded the lights to be extinguiſhed; and the remaining four nights appointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy and darkneſs. And indeed this raſh joy was the more ſhamefull and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and deſtructive the loſs was to the Turks. For they being now got over the River, and the Chriſtians drawn up in *Battalia*, a moſt furious fight began, which from nine a clock in the morning, untill four in the afternoon continued with variable Fortune; at length the Turks aſſailed by the extraordinary valour of the Chriſtians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themſelves into a ſhameful flight, leaving dead upon the place about 5000 men, and the glory of the day to the Chriſtians: the Turks who always flye diſorderly, knowing not the art of a handſome retreat, crouded in heaps to paſs the River, the Horſe trampling over the Foot and the Foot throwing themſelves headlong into the water, without conſideration of the depth, or choice of places foordable after the great rains; thoſe ſinking, catching hold of others that could ſwim, ſunk down and periſhed together; others both of men and horſe through the rapidneſs of the ſtream were carried down the River and ſwallowed up in the deeper places: the water was dyed with blood, and the

whole

whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horſe, Garments, all ſwimming promiſcuouſly together; no difference was here between the valiant and the cowardly, the fooliſh and the wiſe, councel and chance, all being involved in the ſame violence of calamity: *Non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant, adverſante undâ, nihil ſtrenuus ab ignavo, ſapiens à prudenti, conſilia à caſu differre, cuncta pari violentiâ involvebantur*; ſo that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword; whileſt the great Viſier ſtanding on the other ſide of the River was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counſel and reaſon, knew not where to apply a remedy. This defeat though in Chriſtendom not greatly boaſted, by reaſon that the deſtruction of the Turks, which was moſt by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the Turks acknowledge the ruine and ſlaughter to have been of a far great number than what the Chriſtian Diaries relate, confeſſing that ſince the time that the *Ottoman* Empire arrived at this greatneſs, no ſtories make mention of any ſlaughter or diſgrace it hath ſuffered to be equalled to the calamity and diſhonour of this. On the Turks ſide were ſlain *Iſhmael Paſhaw* lately of *Buda*, and *Chimacam* of *Conſtantinople* by a ſhot from the enemy in his paſſage over the River, the *Spahee lar-Agaſee* or general of the *Spahees*, and ſeveral other *Paſhaws* and perſons of quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with ſome Tents and other rich ſpoils: Of the Chriſtians were ſlain neer a thouſand; thoſe of note were Count of *Naſſau*, Count *Charles* of *Braconſtorf* Captain of the Guards to *Montecuculi*, Count *Fucher* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deſerve ever to be chronicled for their vertue and valour.

Tac. lib. 1.

The Turks were with this news greatly aſhamed, and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy news one to the other, ſending Preſents abroad after their manner, derided the Chriſtians living amongſt them with the news, exprobriated them with a thouſand injuries, applauded their own vertue and valour, and the righteouſneſs of their cauſe and Religion. But on a ſudden, intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all news at *Conſtantinople*; they that the day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the miracles of their Victory, now avoided their company, aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriſtian Camp. And now the ill news not being able to be longer concealed, Prayers, and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the Royal Maſques both at *Conſtantinople* and at *Adrianople*, where all the *Emaums* or Pariſh Prieſts with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, ſinging ſome doleful Chapter of the *Alchoran*.

The minds of the Souldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to ſedition than to obedience, every one took licenſe to ſpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt and unlawfull grounds; that Comets lately ſeen to fall were prodigies foretelling the ill ſucceſs of the War; that the total eclipſe of the Moon, which pretends always misfortunes to the

Turks

Turks, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders of engaging the Army, untill the malignancy of that influence had been over-paſſed; and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which the Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperour, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Raab* or places where the Turks received their defeat, without a ſolid or reaſonable ground of War; all concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred memory of that fortunate Sultan, and that all enterpriſes and attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the *Muſſelmen* or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmneſs and ſuperſtition in the mind of the vulgar, and the rumours in the Camp (that the Viſier had been cauſe of the Souldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged, upon a falſe alarm that the enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the Quarters where the Viſiers perſon remained; and that this error was the firſt original of the ſlaughter that enſued) augmented their diſcontents and animoſities againſt the Government. The Souldiery beſides was greatly terrified and poſſeſt with a fear of the Chriſtians, and amazed upon every alarm; the Aſian *Spahees* and other Souldiers having Wives and Children and Poſſeſſions to look after, were grown poor, and deſired nothing more than in peace and quietneſs to return to their homes; ſo that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largeſſes nor hopes could pacifie the minds of the Souldiery more than the promiſes and expectations of Peace. And this was the true cauſe that brought on the treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the Turk, in ſuch an inſtant contrary to the opinion of moſt in the world; and gave occaſion to the Viſier to embrace the Propoſitions offered by the *Heer Rheninghen*, then Reſident for the Emperor (who was carried about according to the motions of the Turkiſh Camp, to be ready to improve any overtures of Peace that might be offered): the Viſier to ſhew his real intentions, flattered and careſſed this Reſident with the Preſent of a Horſe richly furniſhed, a veſt of Sables and a commodious Tent, whileſt the Propoſitions and Condeſcentions on the Turkiſh part were diſpeeded to *Vienna*; which were returned again with an entire aſſent to moſt of the Articles; and thoſe wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred untill the arrival of the Extraordinary Embaſſador, who was ſuppoſed might reach the *Ottoman* Court by the end of *April*. The Aſian *Spahees* were over-joyed at the news hereof, and immediately obtained licence to depart, and moſt of the Militia was diſperſed every one with joy betaking himſelf to his own home. But this Embaſſador miſſing of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected, put all things into a ſtrange combuſtion. I was then in the Camp when it was whiſpered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Chriſtians had deluded them, and cauſed them to diſband their Army, that ſo they might fall upon them with the greater advantage; the misfortune of which (according to the cuſtom of the Commonalty) was charged on the heads of the Governors; and the too much credulity of the Viſier. But at length on the 28. of *May*. 1665. news coming that the Embaſſador from the Emperor was arrived at *Buda*; the Vi-

ſier the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Army, which I accompanied as far as *Niſſa*, about nine days march towards *Adrianople*; and there having put an end to my buſineſs, and wearied with the ſlow pace, and heats, and other inconveniences of an Army, I took my leave of the great Viſier, and proceeded forward by longer journeys to attend the Court at *Adrianople*: and that I may give my Reader an account of theſe Countries and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be judged much beſides my purpoſe, if I entertain him a little with a relation of ſome part of my journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29th of *April* 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*, and on the firſt of *May* I lodged at a Village called *Semeſgè*, the firſt Town I came to, inhabited by *Bulgarians* who are Chriſtians, that day being a Feſtival: the women upon the arrival of Gueſts came running from their houſes with Cakes of dough-baked bread which they called *Togatch*, only laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they ſoon kneaded and prepared for the ſtomachs of Travellers; others brought Milk, Eggs and Wine to ſell, and what elſe their homely Cottages afforded, which they preſſed on us with much importunity, the younger and handſomer challenging a priority in the ſale of their proviſions before thoſe who were ancient and more homely: Theſe Country Laſſes had that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of thoſe dreſſes I have ſeen in pictures of the ancient Shepherdeſſes in *Arcadia*, being a looſe Gown of various colours with hanging ſleeves; their arms had no ſleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or ſome very coarſe Linnen, was yet wrought with many various works of diverſe colours; their hair was braided, hanging down at length behind, which ſome had adorned with little ſhells found upon the Sea ſhore, tyed at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and taſſels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different ſorts ſtrung upon thread, and their breaſts were in the ſame manner decked; thoſe being moſt honoured, and eſteemed moſt rich, who were beſt adorned with theſe ſtrings of Coyn, and bracelets on their wriſts, with which every one, according to her ability, had dreſſed and made her ſelf fine. Amongſt theſe we paſſed with plenty of Proviſion and a hearty welcome; for theſe people called *Bulgarians* inhabit all that Country to the Confines of *Hungary*, they till all that ground, paſture vaſt numbers of Cattel, and are induſtrious and able Huſbandmen, by which means and the liberty they enjoy by the ſmall number of Turks which live amongſt them, they paſs their time with ſome reaſonable comfort, and are more commodious in wealth than they ſuffer to appear outwardly to the envious eye of the Turks. Their Language is the old *Illyrian* or *Sclavonian* tongue, which hath much ſimilitude with the *Ruſſians*; becauſe this people is ſaid to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and ſo by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of *May* we arrived at *Philippopolis*, where we were civilly entertained at the Houſe or Monaſtry of the Metropolitan or Greek Biſhop of that place. By this City runs the River *Hebrus* having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in ſight of which we travelled towards *Sophia*, of which *Ovid* thus ſpeaks,

Qua patet umbroſum Rhodope *glacialis ad* Hæmum,
Et ſacer amiſſas exigit Hebrus *aquas.*

The City of *Philippopolis* is ſcituate in a large and open Plain, and Level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions ſlain in thoſe Fields. A certain *Greek* had once the melancholy dream of much Treaſure buried in one of theſe Hills; and this phancy ſo often troubled him in his ſleep, that it took a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind whilſt he was waking, and ſo far troubled him, that he could take no reſt nor contentment untill he had eaſed his mind to the *Naſir-Aga*, who is he who overſees the water-works and places of pleaſure belonging to the Grand Signior in that Country. The Turk, though he had a great mind to the treaſure, durſt not yet open the ground, untill he had firſt acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the Greek, who upon the firſt intimation diſpatch'd away Officers (ſo apt the Turks are in matters of profit to catch even at a ſhadow) to open this Hill; to which work the Country Villages were ſummoned; and whilſt they digged very deep, not well underſtanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried ſeventy perſons in the ruines: And ſo the work ended, and the Greek awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the ſide of a little Hill; two others are alſo near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that ſide the City; all the reſt of the Country thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity beſides the ruines of two ancient Chappels, built of Brick, in the form of a Croſs; one of which the Greeks hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein St. *Paul* preached often to the *Philippians*; and with that opinion they often reſort thither, eſpecially on the days of Devotion, to ſay their Prayers: The Walls of the City are likewiſe very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ ſomething in the Greek Character; but Time hath ſo defaced it, that to me it ſeemed not longer legible: And ſo ignorant are the Greeks alſo even ſuch as were born in that City, and are Prieſts and Colories (which are the ſtricteſt ſort of Religious Men amongſt them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reaſonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing elſe of the Hiſtory of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, paſſing in this Journey the *Montes Hæmi*, call'd by the Turks *Capi Dervent*, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the aſcent hereunto is rugged and ſharp, commodious for Robbers, who there have ſuch Caves and places of refuge, that they deſie very conſiderable Forces that are ſent againſt them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women uſed to the diverſity of Travellers, are become free in their diſcourſe, and only entertain ſtrangers, whilſt their Huſbands are in the Field, or with their Cattel, or fly away for fear of ſome injury from the Turks. Deſcending hence is a very narrow incloſure, on both ſides being en-

vironed with high Mountains and woods, which is a ſhady and melancholy Journey for the ſpace of two hours; to this place the *Heidouts*, or *Heyducks* (as that people call them) frequently reſort in great numbers out of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, *Hungary*, and other parts which taking advantage of theſe cloſe Woods, diſcharge Vollies of Shot on the ſtrongeſt Caravans, and rolling ſtones from the Mountains in the narroweſt paſſages, do as much execution as with Canon; for, as I have underſtood, in one of thoſe *Dervents* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) 18 Thieves only killed above 300 Merchants, who for ſecurity united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the Robbers. In theſe places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants reſiſted the force of the Grecian Emperours, and killed *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* after he had ſubjected the City of *Conſtantinople*. Amongſt theſe *Bulgarians* is a ſort of people which they call *Paulines*, who had in former times a ſtrangely confuſed notion of Chriſtianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, uſed Fire in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and preferred this Apoſtle before his Maſter Chriſt: But there being ſome Roman prieſts in thoſe parts, that obſerving the ignorance of theſe poor people, and their willingneſs to be inſtructed, took the advantage, and reduced them all to the Roman Faith, to which now they are ſtrict and ſuperſtitious adherers.

Through thoſe narrow *Dervents* before ſpoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Sophia*, a place ſo wholly Turkiſh, that there is nothing in it that appears more antique than the Turks themſelves, it is ſcituated in a pleaſant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the higheſt of them wearing a ſnowy head in the heat of the ſummer Solſtice, which is the reaſon that that City is cool and wholſom, but of a ſubtile penetrating air, being ſupplied with admirable waters of eaſie digeſtion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and ſupply the Town with plentiful ſtreams in all parts of it, and are ſaid to be waters of thoſe Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are beſides theſe cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the Turks reſort very frequently, being of the ſame nature and virtue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days Journey to *Belgrade*, in which paſſage there is nothing more memorable than the deſolation of the Country; and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after ſix days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyful than their return home, and the concluſion of the War; by which may be obſerved in ſome manner, how far the nature of the Turks is degenerated from the ancient warlike diſpoſition of the Saracens.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Turks Armata, *or Naval Forces.*

HAving particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy and ſcourge of Chriſtianity by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Diſcourſe, of the ſtrength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a Nation ſituated on the Continent, are not ſo neceſſary or prevalent to defend themſelves from their Neighbours, or tranſport their Power and Conqueſts into other Dominions, as they are to a people whoſe Habitation is encompaſſed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be ſaid to be truly puiſſant, who is not Maſter in both Elements; For not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which ariſe from Navigation, it is ſufficient, conſidering how often the mighty force of the *Ottoman* Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the ſmall Republique of *Venice*, for want of true knowledge or ſucceſs, or application of their minds to Maritime Exerciſe, to demonſtrate of what efficacy in moſt deſigns is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The Turks are now very much weakned in their Naval Forces ſince the war againſt *Candie*, and are ſo diſcouraged in their hopes of ſucceſs at Sea, that ſhips and Galeaſſes, called by them *Mahunes*, are wholly in diſuſe amongſt them; whether it be that they want able Seamen to govern them, or that they deſpair of being able to meet the *Venetians* in open Sea (for which thoſe Veſſels of Battery are only in uſe) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a ſign that they intend to truſt more of their ſafety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loſs of 28 well-provided Gallies, wreck'd with their men in the Black Sea) the Viſier *Kuperlee* built thirty others for reparation of that loſs, but of that green and unſeaſoned Timber, that the firſt Voyage many of them became unſerviceaple for the Leaks; and the reſt, at the return of the Fleet in the Month of *October* following, were laid up amongſt the old and worn Veſſels.

It may ſeem a difficult matter to aſſign the true reaſon why and by what means the Turks come to be ſo decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with ſo many conveniences for it, and with all ſorts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which ariſe and grow in their own dominions, and are eaſily brought to the imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vaſt woods along the Coaſt of the Black Sea, and parts of *Aſia*, at the bottom of the Gulph of *Nicomedia*, ſupply them: Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Albania* and *Walachia*; Canvas and Hemp from *Grand Cairo*; and Biſquet is in plenty in all parts of the Turks Dominions. Their Ports are ſeveral of them convenient for building both of Ships and Gallies; the Arſenal at *Conſtantinople* hath no leſs than a hundred thirty ſeven *Voltas*, or chambers for Buildings, and ſo many Veſſels may be upon the Stocks at the

 ſame

ſame time. At *Sinopolis* neer *Trapeſond* is another Arſenal: at *Midia* and *Anchiale*, Cities on the black Sea, are the like; and in many partts of the *Propontis*, the *Helleſpont*, and the *Boſphorus*, are ſuch Ports and conveniences for ſhipping, as if all things had conſpired to render *Conſtantinople* happy, and not only capable of being Miſtreſs of the Earth but formidable in all parts of the Ocean: and yet the Turk for ſeveral years, eſpecially ſince the war with *Candia*, and their defeats at Sea have not been able at moſt to Equippe a Fleet of above a 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have cerain Iſles in that Sea aſſigned them.

The Turks do neither want Slaves for to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for *Tartari* ſupplies them with great numbers; beſides, divers perſons in *Conſtantinople* make it a trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6000 Aſpers, running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home ſafe is conſigned to the poſſeſſion of his Patron: and if want ſtill be of *Chiurma*, as the Turks call it, or Slaves for the Oar, a collection is made in ſeveral Provinces of the luſtieſt and ſtouteſt Clowns, called by the Turks *Azabs*, but by the other Slaves *Chakal*; theſe are choſen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every twenty houſes, the hire of which is 6000 Aſpers, for payment whereof the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution. Upon receipt of their pay they give in ſecurity not to fly, but to ſerve faithfully for that years Expedition: But theſe men unuſed to the Service of the Sea, unskilful at the Oar, and Sea-ſick are of little validity; and the ſucceſs of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who ſold his Poſſeſſions on the Land, to buy *Merchandiſe* for Sea-negotiations.

The Souldiers which are deſtin'd to Sea-ſervice are called *Levents*, who come voluntarily and enter themſelves in the Regiſters of the Arſenal obliging themſelves to ſerve that ſummers Expedition for 6000 Aſpers, and Biſquet for the Voyage; the ſtouteſt and moſt reſolute of theſe fellows are thoſe called *Cazdaglii*, who are a certain ſort of mountainers in the Country of *Anatolia*; neer *Troy*, whoſe Country I once paſſed through, with ſome apprehenſion, and more than ordinary vigilance and caution to preſerve my life; for being all Robbers and Free-booters, we admitted no Treaties or Diſcourſes with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are alſo obliged to Sea-ſervice, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their Lands in Sea-Tenour; but being not bound to go in perſon themſelves, they bring or ſend their Servants (called in Turkiſh *Bedel*) to ſupply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are alſo drawn out for Sea-ſervice, and ſome *Spahees* of the four inferior Banners; and not to make too bold with the veterane Souldiers, command only ſuch to Sea as are new and green Souldiers, lately regiſtred in the Rolls of the *Spaheees*.

The Auxiliaries of the Turks forces by Sea, are the Pirates of *Barbari*, from thoſe three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algiar*; but theſe of late years have diſuſed the Cuſtom of coming in to the Turk's aſſiſtance,

aſſiſtance; yet oftentimes they ply towards the *Archipelago*, and to the *Levant*, but it is to ſupply themſelves with Souldiers, and recruits of people for encreaſe of their Colonies.

The other part of auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago* being fourteen in number, every one of which commands a Gally, and for their maintenance have the contribution of certain Illands in that Sea allotted to them; the which are better manned and armed than theſe of *Conſtantinople*, but theſe neither, are not willing too much to expoſe their Veſſels to fight or danger; in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole ſubſiſtance, they are the more cautious how they venture all their Fortune in the ſucceſs of a Battel: Theſe *Beyes* alſo give themſelves much up to their delights and pleaſure, and employ more thoughts how to pleaſe their appetites, than to acquire glory and fame by the war; what they gain in the Summer, when joyned with the groſs of the Turkiſh Fleet is the prize of the Grand Signior, but what chance throws upon them in the winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunners of the Turkiſh Fleet are wholly ignorant of that art, for any perſon who is either Engliſh, French, Dutch, or any other Chriſtian Nation, they deſign to his Office, whether he be skilful or unskilful in the management of Artillery; having an opinion that thoſe people are naturally addicted to a certain proneneſs and aptitude in Gunnery; in which they find their error as often as they come to skirmiſh with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generaliſſimo of the Turkiſh *Armata* is called the Captain *Paſhaw*; his Lieutenant General is called *Terſhana Kiahiaſi*; the next Officer is *Terſane Emini*, or Steward of the *Arſenal*, who hath the care of providing all neceſſaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almoſt all other Offices, occaſions a neceſſity in theſe perſons to rob Nails, Anchors, Cables, and other proviſions of the Fleet to ſatisfie the debts they contracted for the purchaſe of their places: in the like manner doth every *Reis* or Captain of a Gally keep his hand in exerciſe as often as convenience offers; theſe are all for the moſt part Italian, Renegadoes, or the race of them born and educated neer the *Arſenal*. The Officers command their *Chiurme* or ſlaves in corrupted Italian, which they call *Franke*, and afford them a better allowance of Bisket than is given to the ſlaves in the Venetian *Armata*.

The Turks now deſpairing of being equal to the Chriſtian Forces by Sea, and to be able to ſtand with them the ſhock of a Battel, build light Veſſels for robbing, burning, and deſtroying the Chriſtian Coaſt, and afterwards to ſecure themſelves by flight, and alſo to tranſport Souldiers, Ammunition, and Proviſions, for ſuccor of *Candia*, and other places of their new Conqueſts neer the Sea ſhore.

The *Arſenal* at *Venice* is ſo greatly eſteemed by the Turks, that they ſeem not to deſire the conqueſt of that place for any other reaſon more than the benefit of the *Arſenal*; as a Perſon of great quality amongſt them ſaid once, that they had made a Conqueſt of *Venice*, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the Venetians, in regard that the City affords not freſh water, which is neceſſary for the uſe of their Moſques, and their waſhing before Prayer; but that the *Arſenal*; and a Tribute would ſatisfie the deſires of the Grand Signior.

But the Turks are not likely to be Maſters of this Seat of *Neptune*, whilſt they ſo unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime affairs, who being conſcious of their former ill ſucceſs at Sea, and how little uſe they make of thoſe advantages they have for ſhipping, acknowledge their inabilities in Sea affairs, and ſay; *That God hath given the Sea to the Chriſtians, but the land to them.* And no doubt but the large poſſeſſions and riches they enjoy on the ſtable Element of the Earth, is that which takes of their minds a deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almoſt ſolely managed by Renegadoes amongſt them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Country. And it is happy for Chriſtendom that this faintneſs remains on the Spirits of the Turks, and averſion from all Naval employment, whoſe numbers and power the *Great God of Hoſts* hath reſtrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea ſhore.

THE

The CONCLUSION.

BY the Diſcourſe made in the three foregoing Books, it will evider
what ſort of Government is exerciſed amongſt the Turks, what thei
is, and how formidable their Force; which ought to make the Chriſtian w
ble, to ſee ſo great a Part of it ſubjected to the Mahometan Power, and yet
thought of to unite our intereſts, and compoſe our Diſſentions, which lay
the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I ſhall add this
very obſervable, That the Grand Signior wages his Wars by Lan
any charge to himſelf; an advantage not to be parallel'd by the policy of an
ment I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahees* and *Janizaries* are
pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims* and *Timariots* have their Lands to
them; and other Militia's enjoy the fixed Revenue from their reſpective
and yet notwithſtanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the
Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for by thoſe who laid the fir
tion of this Government, the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupt
the corruption of the Officers, or ill management, been ſold for three year
untill all was redeemed and reſtored again by the wiſdom of that famous
priuli, whom we have had occaſion ſo often to mention in the foregoing

We cannot now but pity thoſe Poor Borderers in *Hungary*, *Styria*, *Croa*
ther parts ſubject to the Incurſions of this cruel Enemy, ſince we know that
laſt war not three Engliſh miles from *Vienna* many poor people have been
and fallen into the hands of the Tartar and Turk, and ſold afterwards into
tual Slavery, This Conſideration ought to move us, who are barricado'd
tified by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bleſs God we are
happy and ſo ſecure a Country, ſubject to no dangers but from our ſelves,
miſeries but what ariſe from our own freedom and two much felicity; we
conſider it is a bleſſing, that we have never felt any ſmart of the rod of this
preſſor of Chriſtianity, and yet have taſted of the good and benefit which
ceeded from a free and open Trade, and an amicable Correſpondence and
ſhip with this People; which having been maintained for the ſpace of abo
years, begun in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of bleſſed Memory, preſerv
Prudence and admirable Diſcretion of a ſeries of worthy Embaſſadors,
improved both in Buſineſs and Reputation by the excellent Conduct and
on of that Right Worſhipfull Company of the *Levant* Merchants, hath
moſt conſiderable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and
to many thouſands of people in *England*; by which alſo His Majeſty wi
expence, gains a very conſiderable increaſe of His Cuſtoms.

The ſence of this benefit and advantage to my own Country, without
vate conſiderations I have as a Servant to that embaſſie, or the obligations
that worthy Company, cauſe me to move with the greateſt ſedulity and
poſſible to promote and advance the Intereſt of that Trade: And as ſome
ral ways, and preſcribe Rules by which a war may be moſt advantagiouſly
againſt the Turk; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my
what manner our Peace and Trade may beſt be ſecured and maintained;
that ſo conſiderable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few
Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all ſorts of people ſenſible of the
ſo great a vent of the Commodities of our Country. And therefore as I am
to pray for the Glory and Proſperity of His Majeſty our gracious Sovereign;
wiſe, as that which conduces to it for the continuance of the Honour of
baſſie in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levant* Company.

FINIS

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